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Coping with Long-distance Nationalism: Inter-ethnic Conflict in a Diaspora Context

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Coping with Long-distance Nationalism: Inter-ethnic Conflict in a Diaspora Context

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Dedication

To Dale

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Coping with Long-distance Nationalism:
Inter-ethnic Conflict in a Diaspora Context

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How does the politics of one country play out in other countries through the presence and agency of migrants and their descendents? And how do countries of high immigration cope with conflicts between ethnic or migrant communities when those conflicts originate, or are strongly fueled by, homeland conflicts? This dissertation explores these questions through close study of the Croat and Serb diasporas in Australia and the United States in the 1990s. The answers to these questions hinge on the politics of migrant homelands and the types of opportunities that host countries provide to diaspora communities. The chief empirical finding is that conditions ripe for producing Croat-Serb conflict in host countries failed to do so. Why did diaspora groups rein themselves in? The short answer is that host state institutions matter, but that those host state policies usually championed by Australian and American politicians and academics, and

formed to manage inter-ethnic conflict—such as multiculturalism and direct policymaker intervention—had a negligible effect in the Croat and Serb communities. Instead, ethnic elites credit liberal political cultures, self-policing, and self-imposed segregation as the prime controls of inter-ethnic tension.

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THE PUZZLE

Events in the Balkans in the 1990s fragmented and recast the lives of the people who lived there, and the war between Croats and Serbs from 1991 to early 1996 was, both directly and indirectly, a global catastrophic event. That conflict was perhaps the most complex and confused, arguably the most violent, and without a doubt the most closely watched, clash of the 1990s (Huntington 1996). Television and newspaper reports relayed images of horrific scenes and stories of rape, forced starvation, and mutilation into living rooms on a daily basis. While many global citizens were armchair spectators to the conflict, far-flung migrant Croats and Serbs experienced a tremendously distressing life event of "vicarious suffering," accompanied by a raft of associated physical and mental health problems (Procter 2000).

The spiral of nationalist violence began before the war in the Balkans and there was, in fact, good cause to believe that ethnic tensions could not be contained within the borders of the former Yugoslavia. That country was a modern, complex society wherein ethnicity was only one of several forms of identity, and often not the most important. Yet, throughout the 1980s and 1990s neighbors increasingly came to reduce each other to "ethnic enemies,"—"Serb Chetniks" and "Croat Ustashe"—making reference to World War II nationalist movements and struggles for the salvation of their respective nations. Tim Judah,

for example, chronicles Serbs at the beginning of the fighting in the 1990s as enthusiastic conscripts who

> genuinely believe[d] they were waging a defensive war to prevent a 'new genocide' of the Serbian people but they were borne aloft by their early victories, intoxicated with the joy of the military triumphs which they believed were their generation's contribution to Serbian martial history (Judah 1997, 297).

For Croats, suggests Bogdan Denitch, Serbs represented "the barbarian non-European hordes of treacherous 'Byzantines' who are presumably out to destroy Western civilization and Christian (that is, Catholic) culture" (Denitch 1994, 159). On both sides, this was the politics of identity reduced to its crudest form of "Us" versus "Them" and rife with the intellectually and morally lazy conviction that hardship can be explained by conspiracies against one's own impoverished, persecuted nation.

Critically, a similar level of emotion, a belief in the righteousness of their cause and a desire to play a key role in their homeland, was also present in Serb and Croat expatriate communities where "the forces of darkness—separatists, racists, war criminals, and crooks" could be found in considerable numbers (Holbrooke 1999). Overseas Croats and Serbs, reports Misha Glenny, often provided invidious and shadowy support for nationalists at home, and, contrary to conventional wisdom,

> "[a]s a rule, émigrés from Yugoslavia who were free to nurture their prejudices outside their home country were less forgiving towards their traditional enemies than those who were confronted with the delicate reality of relations between nationalities" (Glenny 1992, 122).

Most Serb and Croat political émigrés since 1945 were, and still are, right-wing, nationalistic, and clerical in political orientation. During the more intense

periods of the Cold War, this position was useful for gaining acceptance as loyal anti-Communists in their new countries in the West, but in the post-Cold War period when inter-ethnic relations were a pervasive concern in many migrant receiving states, this hyper-nationalist politics raised eyebrows.

Hence, with the history of barbaric violence in the Balkans and the revival of memories from the brutal Ustashe-Partisan-Chetnik war of the 1940s, there was understandable fear in some quarters that Milosevic's campaigns against Croatia and Bosnia in the early 1990s, and the subsequent expulsion and flight of Serbs from Tudjman's Croatia, would ignite violence in neighboring states where irredentist communities resided, and perhaps even abroad among overseas Balkan communities. Indeed, for a brief period in the early 1990s it seemed that the homeland conflict might overflow in a wave of inter-ethnic tension and violence to engulf the migrant, exiled, and refugee Yugoslav communities living across the ocean in North America and as distant as Australia.

In the United States, leaders of the Croat and Serb communities lobbied federal, state, and municipal officials strenuously on behalf of their homelands. A war of words was fought in ethnic language newspapers and in the backrooms of government office buildings. Meanwhile, a furtive cycle of tit-for-tat threats and violent muggings and beatings with ascribed ethnic motives heightened tensions, worried both the elderly and the young in the Croat and Serb communities, and regularly filled police reports, if only occasionally splashing across the local papers in Chicago, Pittsburgh, and Milwaukee (Paul 2002).

In Australia, Serb and Croat passions appeared even more intense. Marring perfectly legitimate competing marches on Parliament House in Canberra

and angry, but legal, demonstrations in Sydney and Melbourne, Croatian Catholic and Serbian Orthodox churches were routinely firebombed. Serbs in Melbourne's outer suburbs leveled charges of "Croatian terrorists" attacking Serbs at local community centers, while Croats in Sydney complained that their youth were continually set-upon and beaten by roaming bands of "Serb thugs".[1]

Since violence tends to beget violence, the accusations and counter-charges forced many Australian public officials and political pundits to wonder publicly whether the rancor and acerbic speaches at Serb and Croat public demonstrations, and the attendant violence, might spell the end of the country's official policy of multiculturalism and pose a significant threat to the development of a common Australian identity among migrant communities. Indeed, by early 1993, acknowledged leaders from both the Croat and Serb communities warned of "a war on our streets" and pleaded for assistance from local and federal authorities to address community fears, lest "extremists" in each community get out of hand.

Wars, Rumors of Wars, and Non-wars

Tensions in the 1990s between migrant Croats and Serbs and their respective descendants in both the United States and Australia sprouted from the same homeland-generated hopes and fears. But of course, the war on Australian, or American, streets never occurred. Violent conflict did not rise between rival

[1] Multiple newspaper articles in *The Age* (Melbourne) and the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1992 and 1993 flagged for the Australian public the "importation" of conflicts from the former Yugoslavia into Australia's Croat, Serb, and Bosnian Muslim communities.

migrant communities to levels seen between homeland cousins. Despite the mutual hostility, former Australian parliamentarian Andrew Theophanous contends, "the tensions between the communities were much less than might have been expected, given the emotions that this issue arouses in the different peoples of the region" (Theophanous 1995, 206). And indeed, the tention between Croats and Serbs was remarkable as much for the avoidance of violence as for the potential for conflict to spiral out of control.

These facts alter a common line of reasoning about ethnic conflict and constitute this study's central puzzle. Instead of asking why ethnic violence, in these cases and others, is so persistent, it may be more significant to ask why it is often not more severe. A cursory review of Croat-Serb relations in migrant host countries reveals a series of critical, interrelated questions that demand reflection:

- How was "war on our streets" averted?
- What effects do host state institutions and policy processes play in exacerbating or mitigating inter-ethnic tensions?
- What strategies and actions, if any, did American and Australian policymakers adopt in order to channel migrant community relations in peaceful directions?
- To what extent, and how, did activists in ethnic and migrant communities aid and abet, or hinder, such efforts by policymakers?

To the extent that satisfactory answers can be found for these key questions, this study's implications go well beyond merely understanding the Croat-Serb conflict. That conflict may provide clues to the successful management of other instances of ethno-national or inter-diasporic conflict. More

specifically, the successful management of Croat-Serb tensions and conflict may reveal a political method for containing other inter-ethnic conflicts that are fueled by homeland disputes in the United States, Australia, and other countries of high immigration.

Why did tensions not spiral out of control in the United States and Australia? A more expansive explanation for why more potent conflicts were expected and predicted and theories about how those fears and concerns were restrained is provided in the next chapter. But the short answer, I argue, is that the solution to the puzzle is grounded in politics—in particular political institutions, which vary from place to place and have profound consequences for the way ethnic or migrant groups interact.

Political science provides the tools for explaining how inter-ethnic tensions translate into conflict, but rarely do political scientists look beyond the boundaries of conventional domestic and international political models. While some scholarly and journalistic observers now agree that migrants and their descendants in countries of high immigration play vital roles in influencing international relations, attention is usually focused on the key influence of migrants on homeland political and economic development. There are only limited and inconclusive studies that test whether, and how, migrant communities' dedication to their homelands affects host country foreign policies or otherwise bears on host country interests.

Even less attention is paid to the issue of how migrant and ethnic group involvement in homeland politics affects the contours of inter-ethnic relations within host states (see Shain 1999; Smith 2000). What scholarship on this topic

exists only tangentially addresses the most complicated examples of conflict diffusion through migrant communities. A central argument of Yossi Shain's notable work in this area, for example, is that the negative effects of ethnic group influence on host country foreign policy are often overblown, or misrepresented, and that an increased foreign policy role for diverse ethno-national communities in liberal democracies is "likely to reflect positively in [host country] civic culture by reinforcing the values of democracy and pluralism at home" (Shain 1999, x). That is, a migrant focus on homeland politics is more likely to soothe and moderate, rather than intensify and accentuate, domestic inter-ethnic conflicts because long-distance migrant politics "discourages tendencies toward balkanization inside liberal democracies" (Shain 1999, x). Shain's claims are based on the relations between American Jews and African Americans. I believe, however, that more evidence is required.

This study takes up the challenge to fill the gap and demonstrate how political institutions shape and may curb inter-ethnic social conflict by constraining the choices of ethnic and migrant group leadership in host countries. Shain's study attempts to explain how diaspora politics affects inter-ethnic relations in the United States. But Shain, nonetheless, locates the core sources of inter-ethnic contention in American domestic affairs and policy. The sources of contention between Serbs and Croats, in contrast, are located almost exclusively in the homeland context and not rooted in structural—financial and social—competitions within either the United States or Australia. Croat-Serb relations in Australia and the United States are thus more critical and natural cases

for exploring inter-diasporic conflicts sparked by foreign policy considerations and homeland related concerns.

The present study addresses how the politics of one country play out in other countries through the presence and agency of migrants and ethno-national kin. It focuses on the interaction of domestic and foreign policy issues and on the politics of migrant homelands. The project studies the transnational, or long-distance, mobilization and strategies of ethno-national communities; and, importantly, it also analyzes policymakers' perceptions of migrants' homeland ties in migrant receiving countries.

Moreover, this study presents a theoretical inquiry that is pregnant with significant implications. Without doubt, ethno-national politics and migrant transnational networks and practices gnaw at the bone of one of the central and defining issues in political science: the fading separation of domestic and international politics. Long-distance nationalism challenges state-bound assumptions about the limits of political communities that undergird so much of the political science literature, and it constitutes an increasingly important feature of domestic politics and contemporary international relations (Adamson 2002; Huntington 1997; Sheffer 1986).[2] It raises doubts that geographical location or lines on a map bind participation and accountability in politics, since the assumption that people will live their lives in one place, according to one set of cultural norms in countries with impenetrable borders no longer holds. Diaspora

[2] "Long-distance nationalism," suggests Benedict Anderson, spans states, crosses territorial boundaries and is facilitated by modern global communications and transportation technologies (1992; 1994).

politics and inter-diasporic tensions in host states also cast doubt on the effectiveness of public policies that ignore the influences of homeland politics and other exogenous factors on migrant and ethno-national communities.

A DIASPORA POLITICS PRIMER

Before analyzing the particular confluence of factors and strategies for conflict management manifested in the American and Australian cases, it is essential to locate and place this study in the migrant, settlement, foreign policy, and conflict management literature.

A traditional understanding of migrant incorporation into host societies is informed by examining migrant political mobilization and participation in domestic politics. This understanding tends to maintain the customary distinction between domestic and foreign, or international, levels of politics. When looking at the political activities of domestic ethnic communities, it makes perfect sense that research tends to focus on political participation and political opportunity structures at the domestic level, such as ethnic minorities' efforts to better their living standards and employment situations, opportunities to influence policy about political and social rights, and protests against discrimination.

There is another and, for the purposes of this project, more important sense in which the concept of political opportunities and ethno-national politics is inherently multilevel. I contend that the effects of transnational politics increasingly drive contemporary concerns about identity, national fealty, and citizenship. To the extent that ethnic and migrant communities are also ethno-

national diaspora communities, a paradigm shift is necessary to account for a world in which ethnic groups straddle borders and reside in several states, and in which migrants, exiles, refugees, and their descendants no longer make a sharp nor definitive break with their country of origin.[3]

Contrary to conventional Marxist and liberal theories that suggest the gradual substitution of ethnic or sending country identities with class affiliation or increased engagement with the host state and society, migrant political identities today transcend geographical and political borders. Cheap and fast international travel, digitized satellite communications, and the Internet render geographical distance less and less significant. At the same time, host societies are becoming generally more receptive to ethnic pluralism, if not always multiculturalism. Past conceptions of immigration have generally assumed permanent settlement and political, if not full cultural, assimilation. But today's technological, economic, and political realities make it less likely that migrants, as well as the native-born, in host societies will settle in the old way. Ethnic diversity is now "celebrated" and recognized as an integral part of life in many migrant receiving states. Laws that required immigrants to switch their allegiance or primary identity from their

[3] Gabriel Sheffer usefully defines a diaspora as "an ethno-national diaspora is a social-political formation, created as a result of either voluntary or forced migration, whose members regard themselves as of the same ethno-national origin and who permanently reside as minorities in one or several host countries" (Sheffer 2003, 9). I often preface the term diaspora with the hyphenated term "ethno-national" to narrow discussion and differentiate relatively specific formations from any number of "global tribes"—groups whose hyphenated, hybrid or multiple identities are not connected to a given territory. For example, diaspora is used by others to describe trans-national ideologies such as communism, or members of pan-diasporas such as Asian Americans or Arab Americans, or religious denominations such as Anglicans, Muslims, or Mormons. A second reason for using the term "ethno-national" is to stress that this study deals with the politics of groups who regard themselves as one people and that share common ethnic and national traits, identities, and affinities.

ethnicity or former country of origin are increasingly uncommon and generally recognized as unenforceable (Schuck 1998; Spiro 1997).

These changes have several implications. Since they are less inhibited by charges of disloyalty, ethnic or migrant community leaders and their followers are more inclined to retain or develop new interests in, and connection with, political developments in their homeland, and to do this with greater intensity than in previous eras. This can result in a sense of solidarity with persecuted groups under the homeland regime, overseas assistance to struggling homeland governments or opposition parties or organizations, pressure for homeland political reform, or financial remittances to individuals and communities "back home." It may even lead in the most extreme cases to martial defense of homeland regimes and policies.

Diaspora politics also introduces the polities of migrants' homelands into their host countries. It raises sensitive issues about the influence, both real and theoretical, of transnational and sub-national politics on international (and inter-state) relations: namely, questions about dual loyalties, the manipulation of state policy by foreign governments, the sometimes problematic role of foreign policy pressure groups and their lobbying strategies, the demands of naturalization, and the control of labor and capital flows across borders (Huntington 1997; Shain 1999; Sheffer 1986; 2003; Smith 2000). In these ways and others, migrants and their descendants become links between their receiving or host country, and their sending country, or homeland. Further, transnational migrant politics add an external dimension to the politics of migrants' countries of origin by acting as a resource for political allies.

Diaspora Politics in Migration and Settlement Literature

Diaspora politics is not, of course, a new phenomenon. In the early 1900s, for example, European immigrants returned to live in their home countries or remained active in the politics and economic affairs of their homelands from locations in the Americas or the Antipodes. Elite level transnational networks linking migrant leaders with homeland states are also hardly novel (see Shain 1989; 1991). Cohen describes the grounds for the propensity toward diaspora politics as follows:

> The idea of a diaspora … varies greatly. However, all diasporic communities settled outside their natal (or imagined natal) territories, acknowledge that 'the old country'—a notion often buried deep in language, religion, custom or folklore—always has some claim on their loyalty and emotions. That claim may be strong or weak, or boldly or meekly articulated in a given circumstance or historical period. But a member's adherence to a diasporic community is demonstrated by an acceptance of an inescapable link with their past immigration history and a sense of co-ethnicity with others of a similar background … Even within settled liberal democracies, the old assumption that immigrants would identify with their adopted country in terms of political loyalty, culture and language can non longer be taken for granted (Cohen 1997, ix-x.)

Safran (1991), and Cohen (1997) argue that diasporas in the United States have long been dedicated to political causes in their homelands. Some have been involved in the struggle for political independence of their "stateless" nations, and others have taken active roles in supporting various homeland factions or securing the well-being of their independent home countries. Various ethnic group mobilizations, such as American Jews' efforts on behalf of kin in the former Soviet Union, have been a driving force behind broader efforts to liberate kin in third countries. Still other diasporas, such as Cubans, Poles, and the Baltic

communities, worked to weaken dictatorial rule of their homelands during the Cold War.

Yet sustained scholarly focus on migrant transnational links with the country of origin is relatively new and may be explained by increased recognition of the ease of transportation and communication, and especially by sending states' increased dependence on remittances and the policies they put in place to encourage migrants' long-distance nationalism (Poros 2001; Vertovec 2001). Some previous American studies of diasporas focused on their policy effects, while more recent analysis of migrants, especially those emigrating from Latin America, show how migrant communities often bridge homeland and host country welfare politics (Constas and Platias 1993; Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt 1999; Sheffer 1986; Smith and Guarnizo 1998; Vertovec and Cohen 1999). Much of this scholarship sustains a traditional assimilationist model, however, because it suggests that the more integrated these immigrant communities are, the more they participate in host country politics and the less they engage in the political affairs of their homeland (see Esman 1992; 1994; Layton-Henry 1990; Miller 1981; Weiner 1986).

There are also important and interesting contributions by comparative analyses of migrants' political participation in various European countries (see Hammar 1985; 1990; Ireland 1994; Koopmans and Statham 2000; Layton-Henry 1990). These studies show that migrants in Europe by and large engage in the politics of their host country with increasing frequency and effort, often claiming political rights, despite sometimes ambiguous citizenship or residence status. These studies, nonetheless, also largely maintain the common distinction between

domestic and international politics and the effect of political conflict in countries of origin is dealt with in only a tangential way.

When studies take the political activity of migrant groups into account, the focus is generally on their level of participation in the politics of their receiving country, and the degree of engagement is generally correlated with the degree of inclusion in the host country political system and the extent to which migrant communities are integrated or assimilated into their receiving society. Similarly, these studies also suggest that more integration and more engagement in host country politics leads to less participation in homeland politics (see Esman 1994; Miller 1981; Weiner 1986). But this conclusion runs counter to the diaspora literature in Canada and the United States, in which levels of host country integration and financial success are seen—as in the Jewish, Greek, and Armenian cases—as conducive to political influence on host country foreign policies towards homelands (see Shain 1999; Sheffer 1986; 2003; Smith 2000).

Diaspora Politics and Foreign Policy

The explosion of ethnic conflicts around the world, the increasingly "global" economic environment, and calls for American or Western intervention in trouble spots abroad have increased the number of pressure groups focusing on foreign policy and boosted scholarly attention to the domestic sources of foreign policy. Given the relative success of the Israeli, Cuban, Armenian, and Irish lobbying efforts in the United States, ethnic and diaspora communities are now regarded as frequent and expected voices in today's pluralist foreign

policymaking process. Correlatively, political parties and interest group politics in liberal democracies, perhaps especially in the United States, are now seen as encouraging ethnic group participation in foreign policymaking. (Ahrari 1987; Ambrosio 2002; Gerson 1964; Shain 1999; Smith 2000).

There are reasons why diaspora-based pressure groups draw considerable attention from the press, public officials, and scholars who are keen to understand, first how they form, attract members, and mobilize; and second, why some groups successfully mobilize their communities to produce powerful ethnic lobbies, while others remain politically dormant or ineffective despite considerable resources at their disposal (Ambrosio 2002).

Homeland Challenges and Concerns

There is no doubt that diaspora politics is a controversial political activity. Nationalism in diaspora settings often seems to have a life of its own, independent from political developments in the homeland, but constantly making reference to them. Long-distance nationalism and the political engagement of migrants in their homelands raise justifiable and sensitive concerns about dual loyalty, the limits of national security, the manipulation of political power by foreign governments, and the role of the state in identity formation.

Rogers Smith usefully distinguishes between "homeland policies"—whereby sending states aim to orient migrants towards a return to their countries of origin—and "global nation policies"—whereby homeland states encourage migrants to stay in touch, but to stay abroad. Overseas ethno-national

kin can provide important remittances for the homeland economy, an insider's access and foreign policy lobbying in the host country, and vital "social capital upgrading" by which expatriates leave their homeland as superfluous workers and are reformed into educated, well-to-do national kin abroad (Smith 1997).

These remittances may provide both opportunities and causes of concern for homeland states. Migrant sending societies and states are historically cognizant and frequently wary of expatriate communities and so-called governments-in-exile. But they are also aware of the potential for migrant communities or national kin abroad to be sources of political strength and economic support. There are several well known examples of how sending countries' political elites wish to tap into the resources of national communities abroad (see Østergaard-Nielsen 2003; Shain 1989). Mussolini's Italy, for example, replaced the word "emigrant" with "citizen" more than a half century ago in an effort to "redeem the emigration from the political ineptitude and social irresponsibility of the liberal state" and achieve "the spiritual recovery of all Italian communities abroad by strengthening material and moral contacts between Italy and the citizens abroad" (Shain 1989, 51).

Interest in homeland current affairs, continued affiliation with homeland organizations such as churches and schools, and financial remittances sent in support of kinsmen still in the homeland or in some third country are usually benign phenomena. Yet, dissident political activity from abroad can constitute a potential threat to homeland regimes (Fearon 1998; Gagnon 1994/1995; Gurr 1993; Saideman 1997). Yossi Shain and Martin Sherman suggest that diaspora efforts to affect political issues in their country of origin, kin-state, or symbolic

homeland stem from a variety of motives (Shain and Sherman 1998). Diasporas may be motivated to remit monies out of a desire to change the character of the prevailing homeland regime, improve the image of the diaspora in the minds of homeland ethnic kin, enable themselves to be part of the homeland experience, to assuage guilt, or provide a focus for activity on the part of diaspora organizations.

These ties increasingly take political forms and occasionally lead to strife and violence. Some members of diaspora communities, out of empathy for the predicament and well-being of their ethno-national brethren in the home country, mobilize to provide financial assistance to groups associated with ethno-national secessionist or liberation movements. And departed refugees, exiles, political migrants, or re-nationalized overseas kin may, in extreme cases, use host countries as "springboards" to mount political actions aimed at weakening or overthrowing the government of home countries (Shain 1989). James Rosenau argues that members of diasporas with origins in regions suffering war and ethnic tension will often engage in violent, subversive, or terrorist activity given that

> [t]hose who leave are no less likely than those who stay behind to carry a wide array of psychological baggage, deep-seated emotional ties to the homeland and enduring fears about its well-being. Their lives may end up in new physical settings, but their psychological landscape remains essentially the same composite of cultural premises, ancestral loyalties, and subgroup commitments (Rosenau 1993, xv-xvi).

Indeed, throughout history, political exiles have challenged traditional boundaries of authority and loyalty. Émigrés from Sri Lanka, Turkey, India, and Nigeria, for example, often play key roles in those countries' internal conflicts from their bases in the United States, Canada, Britain, Germany, or Australia. And as external opponents to the regimes of their homelands, political exiles have

always served as "ready instruments for host governments wishing to intervene in the affairs of their enemies" (Shain and Ahram 2003, 662).

Host states, for their part, can hamstring homeland outreach efforts or, alternatively, lend support for exile and diaspora efforts to unseat homeland regimes. Additionally, affiliation with countries hostile to the home regime can brand political exiles as nationally disloyal or at least cast doubt on exiles' trustworthiness and credentials as victims when compared with those opposition leaders who stayed behind. A prime example of homeland kin suspicions about expatriates' loyalty and obligation to homeland national interest was recently evident in the attempts of the Iraqi National Congress (INC), headed by Ahmad Chalabi, to promote the removal of Saddam Hussein from the safety of Washington and Detroit and through close interaction with the Pentagon (Shain and Ahram 2003).

Host Country Challenges and Concerns

Earlier studies of inter-ethnic conflict and migrant politics in countries of high immigration have usually been limited in focus to well-established groups' efforts to integrate, garner public or official attention, or compete with similarly situated ethnic communities for material and social resources in their country of settlement. These studies often offer detailed descriptions of cultural traits, myths and language. Although descriptively thick, most provide few conceptual tools to apply to the transnational spillover of ethnic contention, and they fail to account for how ethno-national conflict is exported from homelands to host countries

(Horowitz 1985; McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1996). The transnational factors that determine ethnic group political activity in a host country are thus often relegated to peripheral roles as factors in the analysis of political integration rather than as subjects of study in their own right.[4]

Yet, policymakers in many countries of immigration are increasingly subject to demands of migrants or refugees who pressure them to pursue a particular policy towards their homeland. At the same time, immigrant receiving states face petitions from homeland governments of diaspora communities to curb the political dissidence of such communities or facilitate tighter relations between homeland societies and their kin abroad (Shain 1989; 1999).

These developments create critics of the growing "cult of ethnicity" in education and civic culture who worry that devotion to homelands undermines national cohesion by exacerbating ethnic strains. Samuel Huntington and Arthur Schlesinger, for example, both argue that the rise of American ethnic groups in the United States foreign policy arena constitutes a threat to the national interest and is evidence of a fragmenting of American identity (Huntington 1997; Schlesinger 1992). This threat has ostensibly been reinforced by post-Cold War immigration and the rise of "the cult of multiculturalism," whose mainly elite proponents "deny the existence of a common culture in the United States,

[4] There are, for example, precious few studies of inter-ethnic conflict involving even those diaspora communities, such as Greek Cypriots (vs. Turks) in the United Kingdom, or Armenians (vs. Azeris and Arabs) in France, or Jews (vs. Arabs) in the United States, which conventional wisdom suggests are "successful" at influencing host country foreign policy (see Østergaard-Nielsen 2003).

denounce assimilation, and promote the primacy of the racial, ethnic, and other sub-nationals cultural identities and groupings" (Huntington 1997, 31-32).

In this perspective, diaspora politics reveals troublesome aspects of political participation. When migrants and their descendents participate in domestic political affairs they do so in particular institutional contexts and their agency is to one degree or another constrained or facilitated by their immediate and local surroundings. By contrast, diaspora involvement in homeland politics is often unaccountable participation, with no clear delineation of specific rights and responsibilities (Smith 2000). For one thing, it is not readily obvious which state—host or homeland—takes responsibility for particular aspects of transnational migrants' lives. Which state assumes the primary responsibility for migrants' protection? How can dual citizens' interests best be represented? And what should states expect in return?

These important questions and concerns are buttressed theoretically by Huntington's much-debated thesis about clashing civilizations, which stresses the persistence of "kin-country" loyalties that run much deeper and darker than either assimilationists or multiculturalists are willing to admit (Huntington 1996). Stanley Renshon, too, argues that it is quite impossible to have two, possibly conflicting, core political attachments, and that the likelihood that first-generation immigrants conceivably "choose" host country loyalties is significantly constrained by early childhood political socialization and unconscious psychological attachments (Renshon 2002).

Concerns of these kinds need not be limited to first generation migrants. It is unlikely that the children of immigrants will be involved in their ancestral

homelands in the same ways and with the same intensity as their parents. But since many migrants' offspring are raised in homes saturated by homeland influences, even second and third generation descendents can reasonably be viewed as latent diasporas. For instance, children of Mexican immigrants in the United States who continue to send remittances to relatives in Mexico exhibit their membership in a diaspora. The children of Indian migrants who go back to India to find marriage partners, or even third-generation Pakistanis or Egyptians who begin to study Islam and homeland values when they have children do so as well.

Hence, migrants' transnational practices are not only interesting in the few instances where they directly challenge states' authority. They are also interesting because they uncover previously unrecognized boundaries of political participation. When migrants engage in the political affairs of their country of origin they do so in an ambiguous political and institutional context. Their mobilization and agency remain facilitated or constrained by their local surroundings, but they are energized by bonds to distant events, people, and places. In other words, there are both homeland and host country influences on migrant behavior.

And while only a fraction of contentious diaspora communities may actually engage in radical ethno-national activism, the phenomenon has added importance in light of immigrant receiving countries' post-9/11 concerns about the importation of fifth columns, terrorists, and the escalating debates about dual or multiple citizenship. Transnational political practices may make migrants the object of public concern and fear, and state scrutiny, if such activities are viewed

as out of step with the host state's political culture and heightened concerns about national security. As early as 1965, Louis Gerson described the double-edged hazards of long-distance nationalism:

> Many ethnic leaders have been increasingly successful in making Americans believe that they and their children and their children's children are duty-bound to act in the interest of their ancestral land–that the emotional umbilical cord can never be severed. A belief is thus being perpetuated that the United States is a multinational state which cannot and should not be fully united. The doctrine, "once hyphenated, always hyphenated," is a threat to American unity, but it is more than a threat to the majority of immigrants and their descendants, whose loyalty and devotion to America–a sanctuary from the ills of their homelands–is unbounded (Gerson 1965, 235).

Echoes of the fear that migrant and ethnic devotion to ancestral homelands exacerbates domestic inter-ethnic tensions reverberate nowadays. Some scholars discern a specter in the increasing role ethnic communities play in shaping—at times "capturing"—the foreign policy of host states. Diasporic communities in migrant-receiving societies have indeed engaged in activities ranging from fund-raising and lobbying to flag-burnings and fire-bombings in connection with homeland conflicts, and it is largely accepted that some ethnic groups punch well above their weight—in terms of population and resources—to successfully influence foreign policy toward their homelands. Cuban refugees and their diasporic youth, for example, have had a crucial and lasting effect on American policy toward the Castro regime for more than a generation, forcing American administrations to maintain a hard line against Cuba.

Some homeland governments regularly make direct patriotic appeals to their respective diasporas and recruit them to influence host state foreign policies in their favor. For example, the Israeli government proposed and funded the

creation of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), which touts itself the "most powerful, best-run, and effective foreign policy interest group in Washington" (Smith 2000, 110-112). Tony Smith, much like Gerson, suggests these and similar efforts to tap diasporic resources in order to gain access to, and pressure, host state foreign policy amount to a "special problem" for liberal democracy and reveal

> a striking peculiarity of American political life that foreign leaders be they Polish, Czech, Irish, Israeli, Greek, or Armenian feel they have a right to address their American kinfolk directly, over the head of the U.S. government, encouraging these ethnic citizens to take positions that promote the interests of the ancestral homeland as defined by these foreigners. It is equally striking that many with strong ethnic identities rally to these foreign leaders' views of what U.S. foreign policy should be (Smith 2000, 134).

Huntington and Schlesinger may exaggerate the threat of division created by ethnic lobbying over foreign policy issues, but Smith provides a more nuanced view and acknowledges that this and related concerns are not new. The essential problem of self-rule, James Madison argued in "Federalist No.10," lies in reconciling the natural pursuit of self-interest with the dangers of any one faction or interest using government for its own narrow purposes, be the faction economic, racial, religious, or ethnic. Smith accepts Madison's "republican remedy," but he is concerned that "foreign attachments" of ethnic lobbies in particular mean that domestic rancor and factional bickering no longer "stop at the water's edge," and the resulting "capture" of foreign policy is increasingly antithetical to the public good.

For example, the INC assisted the United States in an effort to make the case for war on Iraq in 2003. A significant portion of the intelligence used to

support the argument for invasion came from Iraqi defectors, including former weapons program scientists and intelligence officials who left Iraq with assistance by the INC, which lobbied vigorously for war and was paid by the United States government to assist with a congressionally-mandated regime change policy. The limited value of the intelligence gleaned from the defectors, and the apparent INC manipulation of defectors' testimonies about the types, quantities, and locations of weapons of mass destruction held by Baghdad, are now public knowledge (Barry 2003; Hersh 2003).

While there is no reason why "ethnic" agendas and the "national interest" are *necessarily* incompatible, there is reason to suspect incompatibility. Concerns over perceived threats to national security and social cohesion are not easily dismissed, particularly in light of an apparent post-Cold War increase in violent "spillovers" of homeland violence to diasporic communities. Kurds in Vienna, Paris, Bonn, and Copenhagen rioted in fury at the arrest of Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) leader Abdullah Öcalan by Turkish commandoes in Nigeria in 1999; British Hindus and Muslims repeatedly clash over Kashmir in northern and midland English cities; Arab and Jewish communities in France now regularly come to blows after escalated violence in Israel and the West Bank; and contentious diasporic Greeks and Slav Macedonians squared off in the faraway streets of Melbourne in the mid-1990s. These examples and others support the assertion that diasporic devotion to ethno-national homelands is often divisive and can exacerbate domestic inter-ethnic conflicts.

Evidence for the extent to which inter-ethnic conflict is a result of transnational politics is patchy and difficult to compile because it is often hidden

in one way or another. The lack of empirical research in this area thus probably has less to do with the actual occurrence of the phenomenon than with the extent to which it is observable given the subterranean political context in which it often occurs. Yet, as more and more journalists, scholars, and policymakers recognize the ability of ethnic groups to influence international affairs, especially by affecting the foreign policies of migrant receiving states, it is necessary and prudent to examine more closely how such influences relate not only to a host state's national interests abroad but to assess their effect on ethnic relations inside a host country. This re-orientation leads to questions related to those posed earlier in this chapter:

- What is the relationship between an ethnic group's effective voice in foreign policy creation and its adoption of host country political values?
- What functions do ethnic lobbies serve in a host country's promotion of an international image?
- Does ethnic commitment to ancestral countries or homelands, and the development of a diaspora identity, impede host country domestic cohesion by encouraging sub-national loyalties?

CONFLICTED LOYALTIES?

How to maintain a stable political system in a multiethnic society while remaining committed to liberal democratic norms is a perennial problem of political theory. Since Aristotle, democratic theory, extensive empirical evidence,

and common sense regard both ethnic heterogeneity and immigration from diverse sources as disruptive to a democratic polity (Dahl 1971; Lijphart 1984). The difficulty lies in the fact that ethnic groups tend not to get along. Disparate ethnic groups and dissimilar nationalities, according to John Stuart Mill, necessarily view one another with distrust, and undermine the formation and maintenance of common national identities within multinational or multiethnic states.[5] Culturally divided communities are unlikely to share core values and may be quite literally unable to speak with each other. Incorporating several ethnic or national groups into a single political system, it seems evident, means incorporating the basic problem of ethno-national contention as well. This is a concern echoed recently by Robert Putnam, who suggests that greater ethnic diversity usually means fewer personal connections and less trust between citizens:

> The bottom line is that there are special challenges that are posed by ethnic diversity to building social capital. Since ethnic diversity is in the future of the U.S. and Canada, this means we need to devote special attention to how you build connectedness or social capital in that context (Delacourt 2001).

Added to this is the fact that while migrants may regularly be willing to accept naturalization and offer allegiance to their new country, "an individual's national identity is not necessarily the same as the passport she holds" (Schuck 1997, 18). Whether through fixation on a "homeland hangover" or lack of acceptance by new neighbors, some migrant communities remain almost

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[5] Mill (1867), in his *On Representative Government,* wrote that, "Free institutions are next to impossible in a country made up of different nationalities."

completely alienated from their host societies, while others reach only partial political and social integration.

Britain's Home Secretary in the Blair Labour Government, David Blunkett, recognized the challenges this poses and appointed a team of experts to devise a "Britishness" course for all immigrants and asylum-seekers in the United Kingdom. Those aliens who wish to become residents or British citizens will be taught about the tolerance of different ethnic groups, unmarried couples, and homosexuals with the hope that the schooling will lower the inter-ethnic community tensions that were behind the rioting in Bradford, Burnley, and Oldham during the summer of 2001 (Denham et al 2001; Cantle et al 2003).

Members of diasporic communities, by definition, often exhibit multiple loyalties that produce new challenges for multiethnic host countries, as intensive transnational contacts alter conceptions of citizenship and belonging (Foon 1986)). First, the host state and society exert an "internal-national" pull on immigrant identities. Second, specific ethnic communities within the host society also provide an "internal-ethnic" pull. Third, the country and state from which immigrants originated simultaneously exert an "external-national" pull on diasporic communities. Finally, particular ethnic communities in the homeland society may also exert an "external-ethnic" pull.

Wherein migrants "settle" and leave older or original political identifications behind, few controversies develop. Where external loyalties compete with, instead of complement, internal loyalties, events in the homeland states or efforts by homeland governments to mobilize local diasporic

communities may weaken host state national integration and social cohesion in at least four ways, as summarized in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Conflicts Resulting from Multiple Claims to Diaspora Loyalty

	Internal-National	Internal-Ethnic
External-National	A Inter-state War Fifth Column Suspicions	B Dual Loyalty Re-nationalization
External-Ethnic	C Challenges to State Capture of Foreign Policy	D Inter-ethnic Conflicts Intra-ethnic Conflicts

In cell A, the pull of loyalty toward homeland states may lead members of diasporic communities into conflict with the host state and society. The circumstances propelling such conflict are perhaps rare–suspicions of German and Italian immigrants during the Second World War as "fifth columns" being one prominent historical example. But the World Trade Center and Pentagon terrorist attacks in the United States once again raise this specter. In a recent study, Kambiz Ghanea Bassiri (1997) found that 80 percent of his sample of Muslims in Los Angeles and fully a third of those Americans who converted to Islam felt more allegiance to a foreign country than to the United States. Fears of terrorism and a similar identity crisis developing in other high immigration countries result in current official and public suspicion of Middle Eastern and South Asian aliens (Gunaratna 2001).

In cell B, external-national mobilizing efforts, usually state driven, may redefine or re-nationalize diaspora members within immigrant host countries.

Governments of sending countries increasingly perceive their expatriate communities as a source of remittances, investments, markets for home country companies and political representation abroad. Many countries now actively encourage dual citizenship or dual nationality, and they attempt to mobilize diasporic communities for homeland political purposes. This change represents a departure from earlier times, when emigrants were regularly regard as defectors and when naturalization in another country entailed the automatic loss of the original citizenship.

The dramatic shift in policy is motivated by the desire of homeland authorities to retain the loyalty and, hence, the economic and political contributions of their expatriates. For example, Italy's Christian Democrats support extending voting rights to gain support from southern Italian migrants; Albanians journeyed "home" from Germany and New York at the behest of homeland political organizations to support ethnic kin in war and rebuild war-torn economies in Kosovo and Albania (Winland 1995); and Athens brokered a reconciliation among left/right political factions in the Greek-Australian community to ensure diasporic unity on the Macedonian question (Jakubowicz 1994).[6]

Better known in the United States is the resurgence of intensity and expansion in scope of the Mexican state's professed interest in the eight to ten

[6] Con Sciacca, former Labor Party Shadow Minister for Immigration in the Australian Parliament, shared insights regarding Italian efforts to "re-nationalize" Australians of Italian descent during several interviews with the author in June and July 1999. He was then personally opposed to Italian outreach efforts.

million Mexican nationals in the United States and in Americans of Mexican descent. In recent years, Mexican political leaders reversed their previous mistrust and intensified relations with American-based lobby groups such as the National Council of La Raza and the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund. Mexico now funds more than 500 community-of-origin clubs in the U.S., provides national identification cards to émigrés to ease banking and housing challenges, supports an Office of Emigrant Affairs in several high-emigration Mexican states, and flirts with the idea of offering voting rights to non-resident nationals and their American-born descendents in a bold effort to effect U.S. policy (de la Garza and Szekely 1997; Shain 1999; Smith 2003).[7]

In cell C, external ethnic pulls may bring diaspora members into conflict with host state interests. For example, Armenian lobby groups in the United States achieved surprising success in gaining political and material support from Congress, including roughly $90 million in annual foreign aid for the Armenian state, blockage of aid to Armenian rival Azerbaijan, and delay of an arms deal with Turkey. American national interests towards the Caucasus do not suggest that Armenia is the most important state to target in that region. Azerbaijan holds important oil and natural gas reserves, in addition to a passage for transport of these fuels to Turkey. Turkey, an historic and contemporary foe of Armenia, is a regionally important NATO member and key U.S. ally (Gregg 2001).

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[7] Huntington points out that Mexican officials used to look down on migrants to the United States as "pochos" and traitors. Now Mexico's leaders "drench with encomiums those who leave the homeland" and are saluted as "heroes" (Huntington 2004, 280).

Finally, in cell D, external ethnic pulls, including lingering enmities toward other ethnic communities, may influence inter-ethnic relations within host countries. Often these tensions are between distinct ethnic communities. For example, American Greek and American Turk contentions over the Cyprus issue. Other times conflicts may be intra-ethnic in nature, such as internal division among the Chinese Americans regarding Chinese-Taiwanese relations.

STRATEGIES FOR CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

Scholars and journalists who study and write about ethnic politics and the management of ethnic conflict approach the subject from one of two perspectives. The social-psychological perspective focuses at the local and interpersonal levels of interaction. Its practitioners attempt to foster empathy among individual members of the contending parties, establish interpersonal trust, and facilitate notions of reciprocity and mutual respect. These, in turn, are believed to be prerequisites to negotiated compromises and peaceful coexistence.

The alternative perspective is favored by political scientists and depends on institutions, on rules, policies, and political structures to shape individual and group behavior and establish terms and conditions for regulating relations between contending ethnic communities. Scholars and practitioners adopting this perspective do not deny the importance of psychology and interpersonal dynamics, but argue that behavior is conditioned decisively by opportunities and constraints provided by the institutions that people encounter. Locating the key institutions, however, proves difficult.

While for host society political actors, rendering domestic ethnic conflict less virulent is a perennial challenge—it is one made all the more difficult by an "internationalization" of quarrels. Understandably, police and local officials in multinational democracies, suggests Paul Brass, are particularly hesitant to recognize the significance of foreign or external factors in domestic inter-ethnic conflicts and

> [o]ften prefer to define local incidents of violence, whether between members of different ethic groups or not, simply as crimes and to treat them as such, that is, to localize and confine them. Such localization, however, becomes more difficult when isolated incidents of interethnic violence become transformed in to something broader…(Brass 1997, 4).

What this suggests is that homeland state involvement and the nature of homeland politics constitute important variables that influence the way diaspora communities develop their politics in advanced democracies. If a sending society is relatively homogeneous, and its government actively involves itself in the affairs of its expatriates, then diaspora politics is probable. And if the homeland is relatively heterogeneous or conflict ridden, and its government neglects the diaspora community, then fragmented diasporic organizations are likely to pursue diaspora politics considered taboo in the sending country.

Different mixtures of these factors will yield diaspora politics that is more or less divisive and threatening to both the host and sending country regime. If, for example, the homeland is heterogeneous, but its government is actively involved in the diaspora community, then that state may be able to prevent the development of threatening exile organizations and ask diaspora members to lobby their host government on the homeland government's behalf. A fractured

homeland and active diasporas, in turn, portend competing lobbies and the threat of domestic inter-ethnic contention.

BACKGROUND FOR THE STORY

The processes that explain the formation and persistence of each type of conflicted loyalty, the effect of each on host societies, and the means by which host states are able to manage these challenges are too great for one project to encompass fully. As a first cut, analyzing the tension between external ethnic loyalties and internal ethnic loyalties (Category "D", in Figure 1) is this study's primary focus. It explores the key interests and alternatives for diaspora community leaders and host country political officials, and it identifies ways in which ethnic violence between Serbs and Croats was avoided in migrant host country contexts.

Sydney Tarrow maintains that social conflict is the product of popular responses to state policies, and he contends that social movements often represent a backlash against a consolidation of power by the state that seeks to "standardize discourse among groups of citizens and between them and their rulers" (Tarrow 1998, 196). Many groups dissatisfied with the political climate in their home state can opt to migrate (exit) to other countries, especially if they cannot find viable avenues for dissent (voice) in their homelands (Hirschman 1970; 1978). Further, the choice of destination is often informed by the political opportunities provided by host countries, while communications technology and rapid transportation

provide a conduit for the diffusion of conflicts from homelands to related kin abroad.

The primary research conducted in this study also indicates that the presence of a large community of ethno-national kin from one country in another can lead to the spatial diffusion of domestic homeland politics.[8] Specifically, the presence and political activities of Croat and Serb expatriate communities in Australia and the United States introduced domestic Croatian and Serbian politics into the receiving countries. Hence, this study's emphasis is on interactions and relationships at the local level; yet, it also demonstrates how ethno-national politics and conflicts in migrant sending countries affect migrant host societies through the presence and agency of migrants, refugees, and their descendents.[9]

I provide a partial explanation of why Croats and Serbs traveled from the former Yugoslavia to havens in the United States and Australia while still engaging with homeland politics. Missing from the explanation thus far is elucidation of how American and Australian soil became the settings of "second fronts" on which to "wage a battle" for ethnic kin back home in the Croatian and Serbian states. The dynamics of how homeland conflict was transferred to inter-

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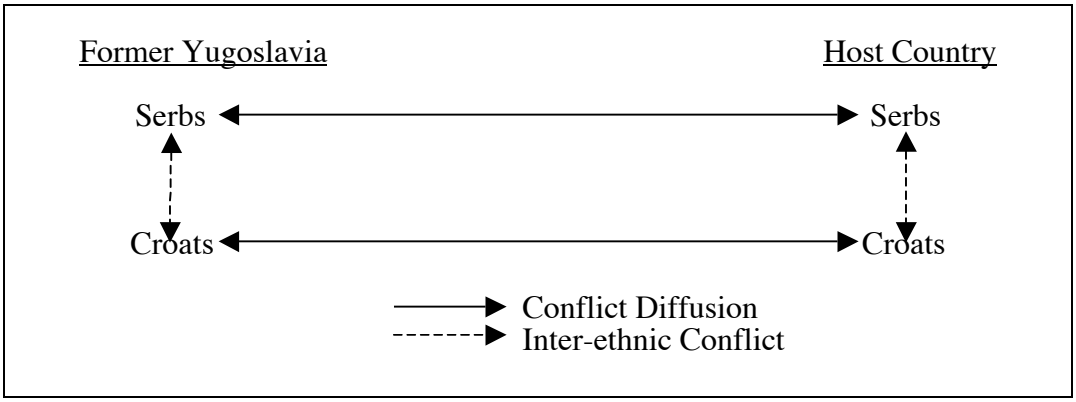
[8] I borrow the concept of spatial diffusion of domestic politics from Mark Miller (1981) who argues that foreign workers increase the "permeability" of political systems in both migrant receiving states and migrant sending countries. Migration, in other words, always has the potential to expose migrant receiving states and societies to the exogenous political influences of homeland events and developments.

[9] Ted Gurr defines political diffusion as the "processes by which conflict in one country directly affects political action in adjoining countries" (Gurr 1993, 133). Refugees, exiles, and asylum seekers—those seeking protection, or safe haven, or political opportunity elsewhere—become the most obvious conduits of diffusion. Further, Gurr posits that disadvantaged groups in homelands are able to increase their potential for mobilization and rebellion at home by drawing on their kinship ties across borders and attempting to recruit and mobilize far-flung diaspora communities.

diaspora conflict in host country settings are illustrated below in Figure 2 and explained in more detail in Chapters 2-5. The dotted lines portray traditional understandings of ethnic conflict in distinct countries. The solid lines represent the animating dynamic of transnational conflict diffusion from the homeland to the host country.

Figure 2: Transnational Conflict Diffusion



Recapitulation

With the end of the Cold War and in light of the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington D.C. on 11 September 2001, the concept of what constitutes national security has changed dramatically and acquired a new and complex significance. Considerations of security have expanded from traditional military and interstate political issues, such as ensuring protection of borders or monitoring external threats, to encompass new concerns about the connection between foreign policy and international developments, on one hand, and ethnic identity, migration, and political empowerment, on the other.

As people migrate, they carry with them their experiences and particular models of conflict. And while there are many instances of inter-diaspora violence, there is still much more antipathy than there is violence, which leads back to the question posed at the beginning of this chapter: why do peoples who nourish enmity, not violently harm each other even more often than they do?

Part of the answer lies in the transnational mobilization and domestic, host country strategies of diaspora community elites. Migrant community leaders increasingly respond to external homeland events and political outreach. But the story is more complex than this. Host country officials—aware of migrants' homeland engagement and often wary of its effects—also react to diaspora politics and have key roles to play. This study is, thus, at once an investigation of ethnic elites at the local and domestic levels and an analysis of foreign or exogenous factors that influence the adoption and utility of host country policies.

My research raises important questions about "how international phenomena influence domestic ones", especially the effects of international politics on immigrant host societies and culture (Gourevitch 1986, 63). It taps into the large and still growing theoretical debates about how globalization affects domestic politics and how mobilized ethno-national diaspora communities increasingly shape the foreign and domestic policies of multi-ethnic democracies.

Roadmap for the Study

Chapter 2 presents the cases and methods used in this study. It discusses critically categories and theories germane to inter-diasporic conflict. It explores

the conditions under which inter-diaspora conflict and violence might have be expected, and why, ultimately, the "dog didn't bark" and the worst possibilities were avoided in both the United States and Australia.

Chapters 3-4 present empirical findings from the Croat-Serb dyad in Australia. Chapter 3 outlines the history of these communities in Australia and Chapter 4 reviews the more contemporary era when inter-ethnic tensions and violence were briefly manifested. I then move beyond the origins and outcomes of contention to reveal the key turning points, to note the range of plausible counterfactuals about what might have happened, and to trace the critical role of leaders in guiding the process of diasporic Croat-Serb contention to particular outcomes.

Chapter 5 reviews the history of Serbs and Croat interaction in the United States, and presents evidence on their contentions and cooperation in the 1990s. The key findings presented in this chapter reveal differences and similarities in the Australian and U.S. contexts for nationalized Croat and Serb communities and the host country mechanism that successfully curbed inter-diasporic contention. The final chapter, Chapter 6, reviews what I believe to be the more important findings of the study and considers the implications of these findings for both the study of transnational politics and contention and for policies on the ground in migrant receiving countries.

Chapter 2: Why Some Dogs Don't Bark

THE CASES

Croat and Serb diaspora engagement in homeland politics in the 1990s was problematic for the migrant receiving countries where they lived. But Croat and Serb transnational relations in Australian and American migrant settings, and especially their interaction with each other, are generally under-researched despite the press attention the communities received in the early and mid-1990s. For several reasons, nonetheless, these cases are paradigmatic for studying the effects and control of long-distance nationalism and migrant politics.

First, domestic political developments in the former Yugoslavia during the Twentieth Century's second half provided opportunities for Croats and Serbs to make common cause with their political, ethnic, or religious counterparts in their country of origin. These included the socialist reformation of Yugoslavia under Tito after the Second World War, the suppression and attendant exodus of Croat nationalists during the Croatian Spring in the late 1960s and early 1970s, development of state-based emigration and remittance schemes to encourage the flow of resources from abroad back to the country of origin, and the political and later military upheavals following the death of Tito and Yugoslavia's disintegration into separate states during the 1990s. The ways in which these events and developments affected Croats and Serbs abroad highlight the role of the homeland state and society in the construction and maintenance of diasporic identities.

Second, Croats and Serbs in Australia and the United States are heterogeneous groups, and their heterogeneity is a continuous source of political intrigue and mobilization. The vast majority of both communities in both host states have been at least tangentially engaged with homeland politics. Significant numbers of each community, moreover, have had decidedly negative relations with both the former Yugoslavia, as well as contentious relations with members of the rival ethnic community. But only minorities of even these most actively engaged and passionate about homeland politics ever considered violent or otherwise direct action against their rival community in either host country. In fact, suggests Paul Hockenos,

> The reactions of Croatian Americans or Serbian Australians, for example, were as diverse as the patchwork diasporas from which they hailed. Many émigrés consciously chose to remain separate from the nostalgic or militant exile groups. Dissenting voices in diasporas, however, tend to be muffled by the willful, mobilized actors in the communities who push their own agendas to the fore (Hockenos 2003, 7).

I, too, found that much of the story of long-distance nationalism lies in the diversity of Croat and Serb migrant politics and the variety of political agendas promoted by ethnic community leaders. Cross-cutting these communities were a handful of key activist minorities. Most notable were the "non-nationalist" Croats who identified with Tito's Communist Party and developed Yugoslav identities during the post-Second World War period. The American Serb and Australian Serb communities also contained numerous pro-Yugoslav groups during that era, though their numbers paled in contrast to groups that espoused support for a more Western-style regime or, just as often, restoring the old Serbian monarchy. This meant that, besides the overtly nationalist-oriented Croat and Serb communities,

there were several other homeland political agendas pursued by sub-groups within the communities prior to the disintegration of the Yugoslav state in the early 1990s.

Third, to the extent that diaspora communities from the former Yugoslavia engaged in homeland politics in the 1990s, this raised interesting questions about the policies of migrant receiving countries. Diaspora communities imported homeland conflicts, despite the fact—or perhaps because of it—that the Australian and American migrant incorporation regimes were among the most inclusive in the world. The result was that issues such as dual nationality, social exclusion, multiculturalism, and fear of international terrorism—especially in a post-9/11 context—generated considerable political heat and public debate in each country.

The different policy choices that each host state confronted and their diverse institutional structures produced multiple approaches for coping with long-distance nationalism and managing inter-ethnic conflict. The main questions to be addressed in this regard are: How did Australian and American political actors perceive and act upon the homeland-centered political activism of the Croat and Serb communities? Which groups or sub-groups and which activities or strategies were deemed acceptable, or even useful, to policymakers? And were these interests and strategies static or dynamic?

Comparison of rival communities of Croats and Serbs in Australia and the United States also complements studies that examine one migrant group in several countries, and those that consider several different migrant groups in a single country. Studies of one group in several countries highlight the significance of

receiving country political institutions (Koopmans and Statham 2000; Østergaard-Nielson 2003). Studies of several groups in one country demonstrate the significance of the countries of origin and transnational influences (Shain 1999; Smith 1998). This analysis complements both approaches because it reveals various dynamics of diasporic political mobilization among migrants from two homelands (Croatia and Serbia) living in two different host countries.

The Method and Caveats

Even a rough investigation into the dynamics of intra- and inter-diasporic relations sheds light on the ways transnational politics are anchored and put into operation in local contexts. The research method employed in this study does not aspire to the quantitative sophistication necessary to place the thesis on the firmest empirical basis. Because this project covers new theoretical ground distinguished by a lack of alternative frameworks and hypotheses to test, my approach is consciously exploratory—which is an appropriate method given the speculative nature of the hypotheses under consideration—and is not intended to provide generalized nor definitive answers to causal questions. Rather, my conclusions are narrowed to preliminary explanations of sets of decisions: why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what result. I concentrate on operational links that need to be traced over time, rather than to mere frequencies or incidences.

This study's method is not simply a narrative, although useful narrative elements and structures are used. I do not focus inordinately on the personal lives

of individuals and the stories they tell. Instead, I survey in depth the choices and behavior of several individuals who acted in concert. My cases are bound by time and activity, and I collection detailed information through a variety of methods and procedures over a prolonged period.

A couple of terminological notes are important. First, the labels for migrants from the former Yugoslavia are often confusing—not only to scholars, but often for community members themselves. For example, not all Croats are Croatian and not all Serbs are Serbian. I try to maintain these distinctions by using "Croat" and "Serb" to refer to self-ascribed ethnic labels. Use of "Croatian" and "Serbian" are more accurate to distinguish ancient and current countries and states, which may comprise multiple ethnic communities—Croats, Serbs, Slavic Muslims, Albanians, Macedonians, et cetera. In general, it is a futile exercise to draw sharp dividing lines between even the Croat and Serb communities in the their Australian and American diasporic contexts, since some community members engage in this sort of line-drawing even within their own nuclear families.

Further, political distinctions between right-wing and left-wing ideologies and party affiliations overlap to varying degrees with ethnic distinctions. There are Croat and Serb communists, though many of these—and especially those with ties to Tito's Communist party—historically, and still today, refer to themselves as Yugoslavs. By contrast, the vast majority of both diasporic Croats and diasporic Serbs studied in this project were (and still are) staunchly anti-communist, though this political commonality fails to unite nationalistic Croats and Serb migrants in any meaningful way.

Fieldwork

The study explores not only how migrants' political practices "trickle up" through the host country political systems, but how host state and homeland political actors' perceptions of, and reactions to, such activities are part and parcel of migrants' mobilization, participation, and inter-relations. The study probes how "transnational" ties with homeland politics influence migrant community ideologies, interests, and agendas. It also reveals how migrants' transnational political practices are articulated within the political institutional context of both countries of settlement.

I am concerned with how migrants go about their transnational political activities rather than why they embark on such a course in the first place. My findings derive from detailed empirical analysis of the scope and forms of Croat and Serb community political engagement with their respective homelands, with each other, and the reactions to such engagement by Australian and American authorities. The empirical research was undertaken in several rounds of fieldwork between 1999 and 2003.

I conducted qualitative interviews with more than 50 leaders of Croat and Serb ethnic and migrant organizations, representing the two communities at local and federal levels. I also interviewed Australian and American political officials, organizations, and state agencies. A handful of additional interviews were conducted with Croatian and Serb homeland officials—embassy and consulate officers—in Canberra and Melbourne. Some interviews were guided

conversations, but most were open-ended and conversational, while following a predetermined set of questions aimed at clarifying and corroborating specific facts and events. The research emphasis was on how diaspora elites and leaders of Croat and Serb ethnic associations, newspapers, and clubs, perceived their roles and on the scope of their relevant activities in the host societies. Another main line of questioning sought to uncover the extent to which, and how, host state policymakers perceived and reacted to Croat and Serb diaspora politics.

In general, interviews of this sort are the best tool to probe political commitment and levels of intervention by various ethnic community actors and authorities. This is especially the case when addressing sensitive questions about political affiliation, national loyalty, and participation in, or knowledge of, violent and criminal acts. When I undertook my research I found little prior research materials. I often found that I was the first non-Croat or non-Serb investigator to pose questions to Croat and Serb community leaders about homeland ties and inter-ethnic relations between the two groups in Australia and the United States.[10]

In May 1999, I conducted pilot interviews with the editors of the major Croatian and Serbian language newspapers in Melbourne, and I spent the better part of June 1999 asking Australian federal parliamentarians and immigration officials about Australia's inter-ethnic relations. I was surprised and perplexed by the diversity of views and explanations for why tensions between Croats and

[10] I used the Delphi method in an effort to mine the perspectives and memories of case participants, or others who experienced the case first-hand and who could provide hypotheses about why diasporic Croat-Serb relations did not spiral into the horrors witnessed in the former Yugoslavia. My working assumption was that "those who experience a case often observe important unrecorded data that is lost to later investigators" (Van Evera 1997, 26-27).

Serbs did not spiral out of hand given the fears and suspicions expressed by community leaders and followers.[11]

In July 2001, I returned to Australia and completed more thorough interviews with relevant leaders in Melbourne, Sydney, and Canberra. Upon returning to the United States in May 2002, I met with Croat and Serb community leaders in Chicago, and conducted phone interviews with ethnic community leaders in Los Angeles and Pittsburgh. On average, the interviews in 2001-2002 lasted two hours and were staged in homes, participant-run businesses, government offices, or ethnic community clubs and hotels.

All interviews were conducted in English and verbatim transcriptions were made for each interview in which the participants agreed to be audio taped, although on more than one occasion the interviewees who were taped asked me to turn off the recorder when they wanted to talk about particularly sensitive issues. I respect this and other requests for anonymity throughout this project. Hence, my interviews are usually only referenced briefly in footnotes.

I also observed community organization meetings and attended Croat and Serb community conferences where I listened to speeches and discussed, informally, the subjects of this study with participants and other observers like me. This provided me with an enhanced perspective of the quality and reliability of the information gathered during more focused interviews. In fact, many times it was at these events when I witnessed or overheard—as the proverbial "fly on the

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[11] My initial interest in this topic and these communities in particular was sparked in 1991 and 1992 when, as a visitor in Australia, I witnessed first-hand several of the more public clashes between Croats and Serbs in Melbourne.

wall"—evidence of the extent of Croat and Serb diaspora engagement with homeland political affairs and the degree of intra- and inter-diasporic contention in the various locales.

In order to supplement interviews and first-hand observations, I collected and poured over Croat and Serb community publications. Where available, I also mined police records, parliamentary and congressional transcripts, immigration, intelligence, and security agency archives, and newspaper databases in both the United States and Australia. Australian immigration officials in Canberra, in particular, generously provided access to archives and reports long locked away in basement storerooms. Other official documents utilized include homeland and host country political party reports, policy statements, and press releases. In between the more formal parts of my research, I enjoyed the hospitality and goodwill of Croat and Serb friends and acquaintances, and participated in community club functions, dinner parties, and luncheons.

These multiple sources are utilized to triangulate the more ethnographically gathered data. They add to the internal validity of the project, since I use multiple sources of evidence to provide multiple measures of the same phenomenon.

THE ARGUMENT

Why Inter-diasporic Conflict?

Louis Kriesberg argues that the escalation of social conflict, ethno-national or otherwise, often occurs inadvertently and without opponents carefully

considering the implications of their actions. Particular contexts, institutional settings, and the internal structure of conflict-prone groups may enhance the possibility of conflicts escalating to violence and accelerate the pace of such escalation. That is, conflict escalation is driven by dynamics within each of the conflicting parties, by changes and patterns of interaction between them, and by third parties who may join the struggle or intervene to contain it (Kriesberg 2003). This understanding illuminates the cases in this study.

For example, Gresham's Law of Conflict Escalation, whereby extremist leaders increasingly replace moderate ones as a conflict heats up, appears to hold in these cases (see Coleman 1957, 14).[12] Croat and Serb hardliners, in competition with community moderates, aggravated tensions between the Croat and Serb communities in both host countries.[13] And to the extent that staunch nationalists persuasively waved the "bloody shirt" of homeland violence and successfully generated fear among within their respective communities, increased feelings of being attacked, shamed, and humiliated followed. Anger is normal under these circumstances and might reasonably be expected to generate vengeful acts that, in turn, fueled further conflict.

Lessons from cognitive dissonance theory flesh out the processes. Leon Festinger, for example, suggests that people desire consistency between what they

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[12] Gresham's Law of Conflict Escalation is an analogy based on the economic principle that "bad money drives good money out of circulation." That is, harmful and dangerous forces tend to drive out those that would keep the conflict within the bounds of community and interpersonal standards.

[13] Internal struggles for leadership of ethnic communities results not only in more militancy or aggressive action, but also in more frequent and intense public demonstrations not organized to exacerbate tensions (see Bracey, Meier and Rudwick 1971).

do and what they believe and think they should do (Festinger 1957). Once committed to a particular action, persons seek to justify it in their own minds. To the extent that this is an accurate depiction of behavior, it follows that as diaspora community members expend resources that hurt or offend enemies in homelands or rivals next door, they tend to regard the cause for which they do so as more and more important. In turn, as the cause becomes more highly prized, ever more harmful costs—especially those born by others—become more justifiable. This is especially the case given that people tend to notice phenomena that fit their expectations so that "once a struggle has entered a stage of mutual recrimination and contentiousness, even conciliatory conduct by the adversary is likely not to be noticed or, if noticed, be discounted as considered deceptive" (Kriesberg 2003, 162). After all, a bestial adversary presumably can only understand brutish acts.

Given the social psychology of conflict escalation, two factors in particular pointed to the probability of intense conflict between diasporic Croat and Serb communities in the 1990s. The first was that the specific nature of Croat and Serb homeland political experiences and the levels of political sophistication required by the Australian and American host societies were mismatched, if not incompatible. For example, many adherents to, and purveyors of, Yugoslav identities recognized lingering homeland influences on expatriates so that,

> Yugoslavian migrants have retained a high level of national and cultural homogeneity. … They socialize abroad in Yugoslav clubs and sports, recreational, folklore, and educational organizations, where they form friendship groups, celebrate national holidays, read national literature and newspapers, and see Yugoslav films and theater performances. Close cooperation has been established between such institutions in foreign countries and their counterparts in Yugoslavia. … The Yugoslav government gives considerable attention to the preservation of national identity and social homogeneity among migrants. On the basis of bilateral

> agreements, Yugoslavia forwards large quantities of newspapers, books, films, and textbooks, and broadcasts radio and television programs to migrant associations, particularly in Germany and Sweden, countries in which such associations are numerous (Tanic 1979, 179).

But this description of social homogeneity and harmony in the diasporas was quite unbelievable. Whereas American and Australian domestic politics have been essentially been about the definition of liberty and the production and allocation of wealth within liberal democratic frameworks, nothing could be further from the nature of Croat and Serb political experience. Politics in the Balkans, and within the diasporic communities, was and is about national and ethnic identity, acute class struggle, and the maintenance of authority. Violence and suppression were regular features of homeland politics and the bulked potentially large in intra-community politics in both host countries (Jupp 1992).

Second, if diaspora or ethno-national communities act on the basis of some common aspiration and sense of justice, more intense conflict and violence is probable. The crusading element of ethno-national conflicts allows for the commission of violent acts in good conscience. When rivals are portrayed as aggressive, godless, sadistic, or uncivilized, moral ambiguities fade (Coser 1956). Diaspora communities may feel they are acting as avenging knights, fighting not for self but for the ideals of the group and the homeland kin they represent, and they are likely to be more radical and merciless than if fighting for personal reasons.

Croat and Serb inter-ethnic conflict in diasporic contexts reflected a sense of victimhood, and fear and distrust of the "Other." Diasporic community leaders refer routinely to fellow Americans and Australians by ethnic and homeland

labels, and not as fellow citizens or neighbors to be believed, respected or trusted. In the early 1990s, both the Croat and the Serb diasporas also fit into a stateless diaspora category because they had weak relations, at best, with the former Yugoslav state. Between 1991-1996, while war raged in the former Yugoslavia, there were hundreds of accusations and counter-claims of physical intimidation, threatening and offensive graffiti, pig heads stuck on church gates, defaced and decapitated statues, drive-by shootings, pipe bombings, and a regular barrage of threatening phone calls made to diaspora members in Australia and the United States.

Why Not Inter-diasporic Conflict?

The existence of conditions for conflict escalation between Serbs and Croats in Australia and the United States can only represented a variant of what Donald Horowitz calls "near misses" (Horowitz 2001). These are situations in which violence doe not occur amid what seem to be fertile conditions for violence. In near misses, there is evidence of strong ethnic conflict, intimidation, and even some limited violence, but the conflict does not spiral out of control or mirror the violence perpetrated by the same communities in their homeland or elsewhere. Diaspora community leaders and rank-and-file members fear that violence may become unmanageable, but this does not happen. The question is why.

There are several possible reasons. First, extremist organizations may not be present, and perhaps the likely spread of ethnic conflict remains a figment of

the imagination of a few extremists. Second, changes for the better in the international environment may affect inter-group relations (Horowitz 2001). Third, homeland government policies—efforts to channel political attention and economic resources back to the homeland—may direct diaspora energies away from inter-ethnic rivalries in the host country. Fourth, host country experiences—either host country government policies, or social interaction and a constructive environment—may prevent a replication of the violence experienced in the homeland. Fifth, diaspora members in the host country may simply avoid each other. Finally, engagement across ethnic group lines may promote interactions that are mutually profitable, so that intra-group policing of "troublemakers" prevents inter-group violence (Fearon and Laitin 1996).

Some of these reasons for the absence of violence contradict one another, some are circular, and most of them overlap. Inter-group avoidance may promote peace, as may inter-group interaction, but both cannot do so at the same time—they are mutually exclusive courses. Likewise, a lack of violence may be present because of effective intra-group policing, or intra-group controls may be visible simply because there is no significant violence. Moreover, there is considerable debate about whether or not migrants' diasporic involvement depends on the extent to which they have obtained political rights in their host country. Perhaps the old assimilation models hold and it can be expected that when migrants acquire citizenship and political rights they concentrate on exercising them and leave homeland politics behind.

The evidence mustered in this study challenges the convention wisdom that inter-ethnic violence is ubiquitous. In accordance with Fearon and Laitin, I

argue that inter-ethnic violence is in fact a rarity (Fearon and Laitin 1996). By whatever calculus the Croat and Serb communities in the United States and Australia computed their interests, they concluded that the cost of violence was greater than the price of compromise and concession. Sometimes, as Robert Axelrod has shown, cooperation emerges where it is perhaps least expected; and elevated levels of hostility and seemingly incompatible goals do not necessarily produce violence. Somehow, the "shadow of the future" may have loomed in the mind's eye of these communities (Axelrod 1984, 129). Somehow, inter-community conflict led to the effective mechanisms for controlling it.

The Unwitting Control of Inter-Diasporic Conflict

The particulars about how control and regulation of conflict occurred are examined in the next three chapters, but the root of the story begins with the recognition that political identity, and the self-ascribed nationality of migrants, and often their descendants, is not simply the result of the extent of integration into their host society.

My key contentions are policy prescriptive, and alternately commonsensical and counter-intuitive. Inter-ethnic violence in diasporic contexts is a learned response to frustration, and inter-diasporic conflict is regulated by modifying the environment giving rise to it or by controlling the context in which it occurs.[14] The stability of inter- diasporic relations depends therefore on the

[14] Primordial and naturalist theories of violence, of course, posit that inter-ethnic conflict and violence is not a learned behavior, but inherent in the human condition. To the extent that inter-groups violence occurs everywhere and among all human societies, there is merit to this claim.

promotion of types of group behavior that have little potential to cause instability, and migrant receiving states and social institutions have the capacity to constrain most types of diasporic behavior in most cases. However, the most effective mechanisms in this regard, as manifest in these cases, are not official state policies, but those political norms that arise from the mundane influences of the liberal values in each host society.

I argue that in migrant receiving advanced democracies, diaspora elites from contentious communities generally tend to make local accommodations which modify their own hostility, and the hostility of their followers, and manifest a common desire to live without suspicion and without shame, as minority populations in multiethnic countries. In other words, Serb and Croat leaders in both the U.S. and Australia essentially "saw the writing on the wall," calculated their interests, and chose to de-escalate and temper the inter-ethnic conflict in their host societies in an effort to improve their public image in their host countries and to maintain intra-diaspora cohesion. Migrants are thus not simply pawns controlled by 'invisible hands" nor compelled by systemic factors in homelands or host countries. They are, rather, active political and social actors whose decisions are based partially on rational—predetermined and predictable—considerations, but also shaped by subjective feelings and emotional considerations.

But, of course inter-ethnic conflict is not ever-present, so either violence or non-violence must be a learned behavior. See Sorel (1950) for a primer on naturalist theories of violence.

I argue, moreover, that inter-diaspora violence in the cases of Croats and Serbs in the United States and Australia was principally self-limited and that diaspora elites worked strenuously to direct group behavior according to the real, though often ambiguously stated, expectations of their host societies. An important lesson is that different host state and society opportunity structures do channel diaspora behavior in diverse ways (Ireland 1994). And this study confirms that an increased perception of access for ethnic community leaders to policymakers in conjunction with diaspora community opportunities to voice group concerns and interests regarding host state foreign policies muffles troublesome inter-group tensions.

Not Your Average Inter-ethnic Conflict

My approach mirrors the suggestion of Gabriel Sheffer that the most promising avenue for the study of diaspora politics demands a combination of approaches "with emphasis on personal and collective choices, albeit not pure rational choice" (Sheffer 2003, 19). And the findings of this study are consistent with the political opportunity structure literature in that legal conditions and political institutions—at both the local municipal and state levels—shape, limit and direct forms of socio-political mobilization and participation among immigrants (see Ireland 1994; Miller 1981).

Patrick Ireland, for example, usefully focuses on the ways in which the institutional framework and "linking processes" embedded in them structure the participation of immigrant groups in Western Europe (Ireland 1994, 10). The host

country context includes such formal institutions as laws and legal statutes, parties, trade organizations, and unions as to the extent they control access to policymakers. Ireland finds that the more inclusive the political system, the more institutionalism can be expected to mollify contention regarding immigrant politics; namely, activity directed at bettering migrants' situation and circumstances in their receiving country.

The focus in this study, however, is to examine how host countries political context affects the scope and influence of transnational political practices. And the migrant politics model is less useful for explaining homeland politics: diasporic activity directed specifically at the domestic or foreign policy of the homeland state. That is, expatriates' efforts to provide support to, or opposition against, their homeland regime and its goals. Nor does the immigrant politics model adequately address emigrant politics, and specifically in these cases how homeland politics influences politics within and between overseas diaspora communities.

For the purposes of this study, what are significant are the host society and host state frameworks, policies, and institutions for capacity for containing and resolving conflicts within and between immigrant and diaspora populations. These include special community relations institutions set up to facilitate common communication between groups and between minority groups and the state. On a more mundane level, social services such as police and welfare departments may also perform successfully many conflict assuaging roles on a day-to-day basis.

However, those policies and institutions most often coupled with effective management of inter-ethnic conflict, and most championed by public officials and

academics in both Australia and the United States, ironically carry little currency in the Croat and Serb communities. They appear instead as a mixed blessing at best, or a malignant complication at worst, for the development of positive inter-diasporic relations. Rather, it is necessary to consider a broader notion of political structure, which not only addresses formal or official, but also fuzzier dimensions of legitimate behavior, informal channels, and political space for dialogue. More specifically, I find that Croats and Serbs in both host countries employed different means and strategies because they had varying and changing degrees of access to policymakers. That access was dependant, in turn, on how controversial diasporic interests appeared to be to host country authorities and, importantly, the general publics of Australia and the United States.

The experience of Croats and Serbs in Australia and the United States suggests that the mobilization strategies that contentious diasporic communities employed to advance their causes are largely a function of the opportunities, or lack of opportunities, provided by the host political system. But the evidence also leads to the rarely claimed assertion that governments' pro-active efforts—including official multicultural and settlement policies—are less significant than the distinctive features of the political systems, and political liberalism in Australia and the United States more generally.

Where political legitimacy of the political system is widely accepted by diaspora community leaders, conflict between the community and the host state is minimized. The same holds true for inter-diasporic conflict: when the legitimacy of the host state increased in the view of Croat and Serb diaspora community members, conflicts between rival and competing ethno-national communities are

controlled at minimal levels of intensity. I find that host society political cultures and values, in tandem with the positive effects of access to policymakers, were the crucial factors that restrained Croat and Serb diaspora contention, encouraged ethnic community leaders to make constructive decisions, and eased the efforts of Australian and American policymakers to discuss and manage the inter-diasporic tensions.

This is not to minimize the role of migrant sending countries or homeland states. Homeland states may become involved by helping their nationals abroad to improve their legal or economic status. Croatia and Serbia, with varying success, tapped resources abroad among ethnic kin and attempted to co-opt their diasporas in Australia and the United States for homeland agendas. But the homeland outreach efforts by both the Tudjman and Milosevic governments were often reactive rather than proactive, and depended both on listening ears among diaspora community members and also on the permeability of migrant host country institutions.

The puzzle addressed in this study, however, is more tightly fixed on the communal defense functions of the diaspora: the defense from hostile segments of the host society generally, and defense against other ethno-national communities or diasporas specifically. This demands some attention to the proximate causes of conflict (homeland), but even more to the proximate controls of conflict which are found almost entirely in diaspora host countries.

Multiculturalism and Cultural Space?

Whether policies such as Australia's official multiculturalism exacerbate or provide a foundation upon which to resolve domestic ethnic conflicts is hotly debated. Former Australian Labor MP Andrew Theophanous suggests that "multiculturalism serves as an instrument to reduce or overcome" inter-ethnic conflicts that originate in overseas troubles through the "enormous power that its central doctrines of tolerance, respect for human rights and commitment to social justice have been able to exercise" (Theophanous 1995, 195, 209). That is, Australia's policy of multiculturalism explains why Croats and Serbs manifested restraint in their dealings one with another.

This claim is specious on two counts. First, the 1977 landmark report on Australian multiculturalism did indeed advise that if a policy of multiculturalism was to add to national unity and social cohesion, the right to express and share cultural identity must be accompanied by responsibilities to do so within the rule of law and with a primary commitment to Australian national interests and fellow Australians (see Zubrzycki 1977; Jupp 1990). While Australian multicultural policy thus codifies liberal principles and, in theory, does not respect any element of a culture that contains within it notions of racial or ethnic superiority, the reality is that some ethnic and migrant communities utilize the political space generated by the policy to defend ethnocentric distinctions and historical enmities, and to perpetuate these attitudes to their posterity. The statement of one executive of the Serbian National Federation of Australia (SNF) is representative of the common perspective among Croat and Serb community leaders: "We were never

taught to hate Croatians when I was a child in Yugoslavia. We learned that here [in Australia]. When the war started, I learned that it was best that we did not know them."[15]

Australian Croat and Australian Serb leaders generally view official multiculturalism as a benefit that has allowed them to more fully concentrate on homeland affairs and to maintain homeland identities. They do not deny that a homeland fixation may be locally divisive and impede the development of a strong Australian national identity, nor that homeland ethnic affinities are often ranked before allegiance with fellow Australians. A leader of the Croatian Students Association (CSA) expressed the sentiment this way:

> I was born in Australia, so that's a given. But Croatia is in here (hand over heart) and that is where my loyalty is. You know, it's always Croats versus Serbs, or wogs versus Aussies. I probably live more like Serbs or Greeks or Italians here, but I don't feel for them what I feel for Croatia.[16]

When ethnic community leaders perceive multicultural policy to permit to the maintenance of homeland hatreds and ethnic separation, the policy is at best ineffective for containing inter-diasporic conflict.

Second, the United States may be a place where Americans are "all multiculturalists now," but the federal government takes a laissez faire approach to the maintenance of ethno-national identities and no official policy of multiculturalism exists (Glazer 1997). If Theophanous' thesis held, and other things being equal, inter-ethnic conflict between Croats and Serbs in the United

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[15] Author interview with George Marincevic, 20 November 2001.

[16] Author interviews with CSA members from Adelaide, Canberra, Geelong, and Melbourne at the Croatian Younger Generation Conference in Geelong, Victoria, 8-9 December 2001.

States—without the active promotion of Australian multiculturalisms values of tolerance and social justice—should have been more intense that inter-ethnic relations in Australia. But this was not the case. By all observable measures in this study—participants' statements, public officials' analyses, press coverage, and police reports—inter-ethnic conflict between Serbs and Croats in Australia was more intense and caused more unease among officials attempting to control for its effects than in the United States.

The Answer Part A: The Double-edged Sword of Participation

In liberal democracies such as Australia and the United States institutional configuration theoretically affords ethnic groups opportunities to shape and participate in the policy process. Politically organized communities often pursue their interests through electoral politics, lobbying, or control of local or regional governments. In general, the United States and Australia allow ethnic and migrant communities to mobilize and there are few legal barriers to political action by ethnic groups through such things as their associations, churches, the hiring lobbyists or public relations firms, and the political roles played by official and unofficial ethnic leaders. But mobilization regarding diasporic interests represents a change in kind from run-of-the-mill domestic issues. Political opportunity structures still bound the range of choices available to diasporic community leaders, but these preferences are themselves generated by dynamics often external to the foreign policy process of the host country (Putnam 1988).

The Australian system centralizes the foreign policy apparatus and the formation of foreign policy is highly concentrated in a few hands. This insulates foreign policy elites from diaspora community lobbying and pressure. This study suggests that a byproduct of this institutional structure is that a lack of access to policymakers, especially those able to further diaspora community foreign policy interests at the national level, motivates more extreme efforts by diaspora communities to voice concerns and influence host country policies. The American system, in contrast, is more easily penetrated by diaspora or ethnic interest groups due largely to the division of power and "sharing or overlap of responsibilities that works to see that no single branch, much less individual, can monopolize power" (Smith 2000, 87).

Ignorance of, and frustration with, host country political systems, coupled with a lack of access to policymakers conceivably could be partly responsible for Australia's more intense levels of conflict between the rival diasporic communities than in the United States. The fact that both Croats and Serbs perceived that they had little or no "voice" in the Australian foreign policy process explains the pursuit of interests and venting of community concerns outside the institutional and organizational frameworks established by the state, using means such as marches, demonstrations, and at the fringes of the communities, violence to express their pain and anger.

This evidence suggests that simply listening to diaspora community concerns is important in host country contexts. The opportunity for each diaspora groups to relate—to vent—the history and present state of the inter-ethnic conflict as they see it to policymakers helps placate fears and suspicions. To the extent

that Croat and Serb contention in either Australia or the United States became a debate with established rules of participation about host country foreign policy towards the respective homelands, the level of inter-group conflict waned.

This line of reasoning comes with an obvious and difficult trade-off. Inviting contentious ethno-national communities to participate in host country foreign policy lobbying efforts appears to direct community energies towards host state and society involvement and structures positively inter-ethnic competition. Most importantly for the questions of this study, access to policymakers provides an incentive to impress host country officials and to steer clear of inter-ethnic conflict within the host society. Diaspora lobbying, however, leads to the broader concerns raised in Chapter 1 regarding host country "national interests" and the "capture" of host state foreign policies by sub-national groups acting on behalf a foreign state or provincial interests, rather than broader, shared host state welfare.

The Answer Part B: Self-Policing and Segregation

This research also suggests that features of the American and Australian systems had a positive, if indirect, influence on the containment of Croat and Serb contention. The liberal political values and the right to legally voice even unpopular views in both the United States and Australia allowed the Croat and Serb community leaderships to better manage tempers and tensions.

My findings suggest that the leaders of communities were most interested in favorable reputations within mainstream Australian and American populations and regularly preached restraint in speech and deed to diaspora community

members. To this end, community leaders routinely used public forums to channel the passions of community members. These demonstrations and public marches or organized lobby activities, such as letter-writing campaigns, provided diaspora community members space to vent or "blow off steam," "kept people's hands busy," and "expended energy that could otherwise boil over."[17]

While the real battles were thus fought by surrogates thousands of miles away, Croats and Serbs in Australia and the United States were allowed to voice their concerns and interests without direct involvement with each other. Distance was a blessing, not a tyranny. In fact, Serbs and Croats in Australia and, to a lesser extent, the United States went to great lengths to avoid each other. Obviously, the principal advantage of self-imposed segregation is the reduction of inter-community violence. But what this means for each host society is unclear. Two exceptionally tense communities effectively reduced the level of local violence, not through conference or compromise, but by turning their backs to each other. They decided that since they could not be better neighbors, they could at least be better strangers.

ARGUMENT RECAP

Long-distance ethno-national political mobilization is inherently rational, predictable, and understandable because it is premised on individual calculations of what is in one's best interest. Individuals behave rationally within institutional limits in order to gain the most benefit at the least cost. The Croat and Serb

[17] Author interview with Tom Starcevik, editor of the Croatian Herald, 19 November 2001.

communities habitually responded to the actual and anticipated moves of their opponent given their particular host country context. This process may, and in these cases did briefly, intensify conflicts by creating a spiral toward unrestrained violence.

In the cases of Croats and Serbs in the United States and Australia, however, the same reciprocal process eventually controlled rather than stimulated the spread of violence. This was the consequence of these rival diaspora communities lack of opportunity to directly and violently confront each other without significant chastisement and castigation by host country policymakers and their fellow host country citizens. Croat and Serb community elites recognized these costs and chose to labor to enrich their own positions and to improve the public image of their respective communities in their respective host societies. Simply put, the development of diaspora leaders' commitments to Australian and American society dampened the fighting spirit of extremist factions and reduced the level of violence between their communities.

A policy lesson of this research, discussed more fully in Chapter 6, is that policymakers in host societies face real trade-offs: less access to policymakers and policymaking results in less "capture" of foreign policy and a clearer articulation of national interests. But this policymaking structure is also correlated with more diaspora frustration and possibly more contentious inter-diaspora relations.

CHAPTER SUMMARY AND A LOOK AHEAD

The statement of the problems, approach, and preliminary discussion of the numerous issues pertaining to the effects of long-distance nationalism and inter-diasporic conflicts presented in Chapter 1 and in this chapter indicate that diaspora politics are complex and puzzling phenomenon. This chapter provided an explanation and rationale for why the study of Croat and Serb conflict is important. An argument was offered for why the Croat-Serb rivalry did not spin out of control and, importantly, how Australia and the United States managed to curb it. A fuller explication of how this happened is presented occurred are addressed in the empirical chapters that follow.

Chapter 3: Long-distance Enmities

AUSTRALIA: A NURSERY OF NATIONALISM?

Cold War Australia was an anxious country in which intelligence officials vigorously monitored potential threats to security and constructed elaborate schemes to keep an eye on of the flood of immigrants that arrived between the late 1940s and the late 1960s. Some contemporary historians argue that much of the information gathering was part of a draconian plan to intern thousands of immigrant left-wing sympathizers should a major war break out (Aarons 2001). But when political terror arrived in Australia, it came not from the Left but the Right.

On New Year's Day, 1967, an explosion ripped through the Yugoslav Consulate in Sydney. This climaxed a wave of attacks on Yugoslav property that had lasted for more than a decade. By 1970, bombs had torn into the Melbourne consulate, as ell as Yugoslav clubs, businesses, churches and homes. Australia's major cities were hotbeds of Croat and Serb liberationist literature. They served as a "cradle of nationality" for anti-Yugoslav exiles, refugees, and political migrants, who in varying degrees supported efforts to defy Tito or re-establish a Serbian nation-state, on one side, and remove Croatia from "Communist-Chetnik slavery" on the other.

Despite the local violence and other evidence that ethno-national conflict had diffused into Australia, the importance of continuing contacts between migrants and their homelands was publicly downplayed. This was especially true

in Canberra where official rhetoric slighted transnational ties that influenced the ethnic communities. A 1977 Green Paper, *Immigration Policies and Australia's Population*, cautioned that "ministers are under pressure from ethnic groups to favor one side or the other in international disputes to which Australia is not directly a party, but in which migrants' countries of origin are involved" (APIC 1977, 88). A search of more recent federal documents, uncovered little official attention to homeland-migrant relations.[18]

Australian newspapers and television programs are suffused with discussions of immigration issues, and scholars continuously debate whether increasing ethnic diversity undermines or enhances national cohesion and civic culture (see Jakubowicz 1994; Jayasuriya 1997). Studies assess domestic ethnic political representation, ethnic group efforts to influence immigration policy on behalf of ethnic and national kin, and government attempts to facilitate migrant integration and assuage conflicts between recent immigrants and native-born Australians.[19] However, there is a paucity of Australian immigration literature acknowledging that the globalization and democratization of communications technology, manifest in mass use of the Internet and relatively cheap and rapid long-distance travel, enables immigrant communities to maintain closer contact with their homelands than in the past.

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[18] Unofficially, Australian public officials, and security and intelligence organizations were cognizant and watchful of several migrant communities.

[19] See Zappalà (1998a; 1998b) for useful examples of increased ethnic group representation in the Australian federal parliament. Jupp and Kabala (1993) offer a quality review of ethnic group lobbying in Australia.

Since the Second World War Australia has demonstrated an extraordinary capacity to absorb migrants and turn them into generally law-abiding citizens. While Australian history does contain important instances of political violence, group discrimination, and the exclusion of ethnic groups from the political process, there has also been a dearth of long-term and severe threats to basic liberal norms and a near complete absence of system-threatening violence. In this context, Croat and Serb community relations might reasonably be considered an historical anomaly—especially the extent to which that Australian soil became a "second front' in battles for an independent Croatia and, on the other side, protecting the Serbian nation.

The Croat-Serb conflict was not singular in Australia, however. Anthropologist Loring Danforth reports that the Greek Consul General in Melbourne told him during the early 1990s that "Australia is the first line of defense in the battle for Macedonia" (Danforth 1995, 7-8). Over the last two decades, Greeks, Chinese, Kurds, Timorese, Turks, and a host of other communities in Australia have engaged in activities ranging from fund-raising and lobbying Parliament to flag-burnings and fire bombings in connection with homeland concerns. Of course, only individuals at the extreme fringes of these communities participated in the criminal and most contentious types of behaviors. But even more politically and socially acceptable forms of diaspora behavior, also clearly manifest in the Australian Croat and Australian Serb diasporas, constituted challenges to national integration and social cohesion.

This chapter analyses these challenges at two levels. First, it reviews the historical enmities between and among Australian Croats and Serbs in light of

shifting interests and concerns during the Cold War period and into the 1990s. It provides a backdrop for better understanding Croat-Serb relations during the 1991-1996 war in the former Yugoslavia. The bulk of the chapter focuses on Croat diaspora politics because this community received the greatest attention by Australian government officials and intelligence personnel.. The review of Serb diaspora mobilization is shorter, but it provides points of comparison and helps to pinpoint key factors that led to inter-diasporic conflict during the 1990s.

Second, this chapter also considers the pressures that long-distance nationalism and diaspora politics placed on host country institutions and policymakers. It shows that long-distance nationalism and diaspora politics are potentially serious threats to immigrant receiving societies. The focus throughout is the behaviors of ethnic community leaders, their ties to their respective homelands, as well as rank-and-file Croat and Serb migrants' efforts to balance their homeland interests with the political and social realities of life in Australia. The efforts of Australian government to manage inter- and intra-ethnic tensions and control the effects of long-distance nationalism also receive considerable attention.

AUSTRALIA'S CROATS

The first likely Croat settlers are traced back to the 1850s when Dalmatian sailors, lured by the gold fields, left their ships in Melbourne or Sydney. Charles Price records that some 4,000 of the male settlers in Australia between 1890 and

1940 were from Croatia or Bosnia and Herzegovina (Price 1963, 22-23). But these figures are difficult to confirm.[20]

The earliest Croat migrants to Australia largely consisted of agricultural workers, some of whom had suffered through war in their homeland and experienced hardships during the 1920s and 1930s at the hands of the Serb-dominated Yugoslav regime under King Alexander.[21] Croatian emigration in this early period was also prompted by hostility to Austro-Hungarian rule in Croatia proper, poor economic opportunities in Croatian cities, and agricultural crop failures.[22] Pre-Tito homeland concerns about the diaspora focused especially on Croat political dissent, and the Yugoslav monarchy encouraged loyalists abroad to

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[20] Accurate statistics for both Croats and Serbs in contemporary and historical Australia are fuzzy. For example, until 1996 Croatia-born residents were included within data for the Yugoslav-born. The 1933 Census listed 2,826 Yugoslavia-born in Australia. In the period immediately after World War II, the Australian Yugoslavia-born population quadrupled—from 5,888 in 1947 to 22,856 in 1954. In the 1960s, Yugoslavia opened its borders to emigration, and between 1961 and 1976 almost 100,000 Yugoslavia-born persons took advantage of the opportunity and migrated to Australia. It is believed a majority of these immigrants were Croats. The Yugoslavia-born population reached 129,616 by the 1971 Census and 160,479 by the 1991 Census. Nearly 30,000 additional settlers from the republics of the former Yugoslavia migrated to Australia since 1991. In the 2001 Census, 45,340 foreign-born (Croatia or Bosnia-Herzegovina) residents in Australia declared that they were of Croatian ancestry and the Croatian community is estimated to number more than 90,000 through the second generation. However, Census officials suggest this number is likely to be somewhat understated, as some Croatia-born likely still felt inclined to answer that they were 'Yugoslavia-born', perhaps because they still held current passports issued by the former Yugoslavia. By comparison, 69,173 people declared in the 1996 Census that they spoke "Croatian" at home. In any case, these official Australian figures are substantially less than the 300,000-person community claimed by the Croatian Consul-General in Melbourne in 1999 (author interview with Zeljko Sikic, Croatian Consul-General, Melbourne, 23 June 1999).

[21] In 1934, for example, Croat nationalists working in conjunction with Macedonian separatists assassinated Alexander during a state visit to Marseilles, France. Hockenos (2003) suggests that this "success" of exiled Ustashe leaders abroad set a precedent for later generations of nationalist-minded diasporic Croats that "anything is possible" and that exile is a fruitful condition for nationalist incursions against unfriendly regimes in the homeland.

[22] Plagues of phylloxera, an aphid-like insect that feeds on grape roots, ravaged the Dalmatian wine industry through the late 19th Century, encouraging urban population growth and emigration.

form political associations in order to gather information on both Croatian communist and nationalist tendencies (Winland 1995).

Post-war Intra-diaspora Troubles

With the arrival of some 24,000 Yugoslavian refugees after the Second World War—many of whom arrived from war-torn Europe as displaced persons (DPs) under the direction of the International Refugee Organization (IRO) and later under formal migration agreements with Yugoslavia—homeland political divisions sparked increased political activity in the Croat diaspora. Much of this Cold War era activity derived from lingering nationalist aspirations and anti-communist, anti-Yugoslav activities.

The post-War Croat political migrants generally either supported the Axis-allied "Ustashe" Croatian regime during the war, or were later victims of Tito's "Croatian Spring" crackdown. They did not leave homeland political concerns behind.[23] This politically radical core of Croatian migrants provided the context for absorbing and "re-educating" economic migrants who followed in subsequent migrations, and it nurtured ideologies and a worldview centered on the re-establishment of an independent Croatian state and the question of Croatian ethno-national survival amid the perceived threat from Serbia in the 1990s.

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[23] "Croatian Spring" refers to the late 1960s and early 1970s revival of Croatian nationalism and the efforts by some more liberal members of the Croatian Communist Party to challenge the centralist policies of the Yugoslav government. Accurate statistics on the political motivations for emigration are difficult to obtain without extensive surveying. However, for a review of immigrant political affiliation and the high level of homeland political interest in the diaspora in the post-War era see Skrbi_ (1999).

The older and disparate Balkan communities that made their homes outside the former Yugoslavia long before highly charged, nationalistic political exiles escaped to the West were generally either moderate nationalists or partial to left-wing causes or a Yugoslav identity, and thus viewed the newcomers as sinister right-wing provocateurs. Some members of the more left-leaning groups and strains of diaspora Croats in Australia branded the greenhorns as "brownshirts and Hitler's fifth column."[24]

Back home, Tito took exiles' fantasies and nightmares as seriously as the exiles did. He used the image of the neo-fascist émigré to discredit all anticommunist opposition coming from abroad, and his regime vilified politically active diaspora Croats as counterrevolutionaries, henchmen of accused war criminal and Ustashe leader, Anté Paveli_, and a reactionary "sixth column" that plotted to overthrow the socialist state.

Australian Reactions to Intra-diaspora Activities

In the 1960s, and especially the early 1970s, media reports, police officials, and Australian intelligence services regularly investigated the violent activities of pro-Ustashe Croat groups in Australia, as well as the "possibility that amongst their numbers [were] 'agents provocateurs'" whose aim was to stir up trouble within the Croat community and report back regularly to the communist Yugoslav government (Aarons 2001, 401).

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[24] Author interview with pro-Yugoslav, Australian Croat leader, Marin Alagich, 4 March 2002.

In the course of my interviews, Australian Croat community leaders voiced numerous rumors, suspicions, reports, and stories about the Yugoslav State Security Administration's use of informers and spies to disrupt peaceful Croat community activities in Australia and intimidate Croat nationalist figures abroad, as well as their extended families in the Yugoslavia. Under Tito suggested one Australian Croat, a package from the wrong great-uncle in Milwaukee, Toronto, or Adelaide could result in a visit by his secret police, while the great-uncle was "put on a watch list and shadowed by Tito's spies."[25] Another prominent nationalist Croat community leader from Melbourne summed up the level of suspicion this way: "It's the other Croatians you can't trust. Some people were on every side. To be divided, that's what it means to be Croatian."[26] As if to confirm the lived experience of his Croat community rivals, the pro-Yugoslav and Australian Croat writer, Steve Kosevi_ suggests that "there was far more violence between left-wing and right-wing Croats during the Cold War than there ever was between Croats and Serbs during those years."[27]

In one famous 1978 case, seven members of the Croatian Republican Party in Sydney were charged with conspiring to bomb buildings and destroy a pipeline connecting the city to its main water supply, and to murder two rival Croat community members. The men were convicted primarily on evidence provided by another Croat who confessed to the conspiracy and tipped-off authorities. After pleading guilty to all charges, the tipster was then curiously

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[25] Author interview with Fabien Lovokovic, 5 March 2002.
[26] Author interview with Mato Tkalcevic, 7 March 2002.
[27] Author interview with Steve Kosevi_, 3 March 2002.

returned to Yugoslavia by Australian authorities, leaving the impression that the entire case was a "set-up" by Yugoslav authorities, perhaps in conjunction with Australian intelligence officials eager to put a lid on the "Croatian Problem" and the possibility of wider ethno-political violence in Australia.

Suspicions and conspiracy theories were mirrored by homeland and host country observersl. There is significant evidence, in fact, that both Australian authorities and Yugoslav authorities had cause for concern about certain elements of the Croat diaspora in Australia. A 1951 Australian Security Intelligence Organization (ASIO) investigation of the Croatian Club in Adelaide conclude that

> It is anti-Communist, if not, in fact, a fascist group … A first class informant has advised that the Ustacha is operating on a world wide basis with headquarters in Argentina. The same informant stated that the Croatina Club in Adelaide has about seventy-five members and of these seventy-five percent are former members of the Ustacha.[28]

A 1963 article in the popular news magazine *The Bulletin* detailed the activities of a legion of Croatian nationalist organizations such as the Croat Liberation Movement (HOP), the Croatian Peasants' Party (HSS), the Croatian Republican Party and the Croatian People's Council (HNV).[29] The article revealed for the first time to the Australian public paramilitary training camps, established to prepare young Australian Croats for defense of the Croatian homeland, formed in the Australian bush. The Australian Croat nationalist press also ran articles at the time about the cultural and military training camps with

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[28] Records of ASIO investigations into the Croat nationalist community, including this quote, are thoroughly reported, documented, and analyzed in historian Mark Aarons book, *War Criminals Welcome* (2001).

[29] *The Bulletin*, 26 January 1963.

headlines such as "Today on the Murray River Tomorrow on the Drina."[30] Historian Mark Aarons records one participant describing the camps in the country town of Wodonga as "the nest of the Croatian Ustashe" and a place for those prepared to "drive out the Serbians" and "who are prepared to die" for Croatia (Aarons 2001, 413).

As early as 1955, footnotes in ASIO reports warned that the existence of nationalist groups fostering militant youth movements to keep old hatreds alive and training in the Australian bush threatened domestic social order and that "the peaceful Serbian community [was] becoming disturbed at the steady growth of the Ustashe movement in Australia," and that "Croat incidents" could spell trouble for Australian-Yugoslav inter-state relations (Aarons 2001, 405).

This concern was not off the mark. Even more peaceful nationalist Croat forms of protest became international incidents. In 1977, Australian Croats opened an unofficial "Croatian embassy" in Canberra with financial help from the Croat diaspora in the United States and Canada. The opening of the "embassy without a country" had "repercussions as far away as Chicago" and in Belgrade.[31] Under the direction of Australian civil servant turned Croat activist, Marjo Despoja, the embassy represented "boldness and a thumb in Tito's eye."[32] Despite immense pressure from Yugoslav authorities to shut the offices down, Australian policymakers, wary that hastily shutting down the operation might

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30 "Danas Na Rieci Murray-Sjutra Na Drini," *Spremnost* (Fabijan Lovokovi_, ed.), January-February 1963.

31 See Tyner, Howard. "An 'Embassy' Without a Country," *Chicago Tribune*, 14 January 1979.

32 Author interview with Marjo Despoja, 12 March 2002.

antagonize the Australian Croat community, allowed the "embassy" to function for nearly two years.

Other forms of Croat diaspora mobilization were more ominous. After secret paramilitary training in Australia, another Croat nationalist group, the Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood (HRB), launched an unsuccessful armed uprising in communist Yugoslavia in 1963. A Croatian nationalist assassinated the Yugoslav ambassador to Sweden in 1971, and letters exchanged between pro-Yugoslav Australian Croats and then Australian Prime Minister, William McMahon, reveal a mutual fear that Yugoslav officials in Australia were also in similar danger.[33] At the height of the Croatian Spring in 1972 another Australian-based insurgency into Yugoslavia failed, and that same year Commonwealth police also foiled an HRB plot to assassinate the visiting Yugoslav Prime Minister (Aarons 2001; SBS Television 2001).

In fact, pro-Yugoslav Australians of all backgrounds were threatened or rhetorically targeted by extremist diaspora Croats during the Cold War. The Croatian National Resistance's founding declaration and constitution, for instance, states that "[w]e regard Yugoslavism and Yugoslavia as the greatest and only evil that has caused the existing calamity … We therefore consider every direct or indirect help to Yugoslavia as treason against the Croat Nation."[34] This,

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[33] Miro Baresic was convicted of assassinating Ambassador Vladimir Rolovic and was paroled in Stockholm in 1987. M.M. Alagich, former president of the Sydney's Yugal Club and representative of the Coordinating Committee of National Communities from Yugoslavia, provided full access to his private archive of letters and reports documenting nationalist Croat and pro-Yugoslav Croat relations in Australia. Copies of all papers and letters referenced are in the author's possession.

[34] A copy of the Croatian National Resistance constitution is in the author's personal collection.

of course, made targets and "traitors" of anyone doing business with the Yugoslav government, foreign embassy staff, the Australian Labor Party, and especially all Australian Croats or Australian Serbs sympathetic to the former Yugoslavia's Communist government.

No known study has tabulated the precise number of extremist Croat terrorist incidents in Australia during the Cold War period, but by 1972 the Australian Commonwealth Police had detailed more than fifty significant Croat-Serb incidents, including at least 15 bombings and what was described as "professional assassinations" and murders, over the previous ten year period suspected of being the work of pro-Ustashe or Chetnik Serb organizations or individuals (Aarons 2001, 427).[35]

Troubles continued throughout the 1970s and 1980s. The following list of incidents, gleaned from ASIO, DIMIA and Australia's foreign language press, is representative of the perhaps hundreds of incidents of violence and intimidation within the greater southern Slav community since the 1970s:

- 1970 bombing of Yugoslav Consulate General, Melbourne
- 1970 bombing of Serbian Orthodox Church, Melbourne
- 1972 bombing of Serbian Orthodox Church, Melbourne
- 1972 armed assault at the Yugoslav Consulate, Perth
- 1972 bombing of two Yugoslav tourist agencies, Sydney

[35] Descriptions of intra- and inter-diaspora conflict confirmed in author interviews with Tony Juri_, President, Australian Croatian Association, 29 October 2001; Tom Starcevik, editor of the Croatian language newspaper *Hrvatski Vjesnik*, 19 November 2001; and Croatian community activist Marjo Despoja, 12 March 2002.

- 1972 bombing of pro-Yugoslav political figure, Melbourne
- 1972 bombing of Serbian Orthodox Church, Brisbane
- 1973 arson at Croatian newspaper offices, Melbourne
- 1975 bombing of Yugoslav tourist agency, Melbourne
- 1977 bombing of Yugoslav Airlines office, Melbourne
- 1977 bombing of Mihailovic (Serb) statue, Canberra
- 1978 arrest of Croats for paramilitary training, NSW
- 1988 Yugoslav Club firebombed and vandalized, Adelaide
- 1988 shooting death of 16-year-old Croat outside the Yugoslav consulate, Sydney

Croats as Public Enemy?

For much of the period since the Second World War, the Croat community in Australia was subjected to public pressure and the stigma of fascism and terrorism, and today it is still frequently viewed as 'extremist' and violent in its relations with other Southern Slavs. For example, ethnic violence at soccer matches, now a characteristic feature of the code in Australia, is routinely recognized as a "Yugo" import.

These disapproving public labels were patently evident as anti-Communist Vietnamese "boat people" began to arrive in Australia after the fall of Saigon. There was fear among both Australian political elites and the broader Australian public that like the Croatian migrants before them, the Vietnamese in Australia would seek to 'liberate their homeland', thus causing the problem of legal control,

diplomatic headaches with the government in Vietnam, and a backlash among other Australians. This was the origin for the particularly pungent epithet for Vietnamese refugees, 'Yellow Croatians'; in one phrase, the "sum of all fears" (Viviani 1984, 56).[36]

The Australia media also played-up the potential for Croats to disrupt ethnic relations and regularly conveyed images of the Croat community as an ethnic group whose collective actions were politically driven and "un-Australian." For example, an analysis of 116 articles concerning Croats that appeared in the Sydney Morning Herald from 1955 to 1988 (on the eve of the Yugoslav state collapse) reveals the negative ways in which Croats were presented to the Australian public (see Hockenos 2003). Not one of the 116 articles takes a positive stance towards Croats or Croatia. Most of them focus in some way on either acts of terrorism or demonstrations and protests. Even the more neutral articles deal in some way with the heightened level of passion political events in the homeland engender among Australian Croats and the highly charged emotions and actions of the Croat community in Australia. "With an anti-Croat Australian press," suggests Marjo Despoja, "is it any surprise Croatians felt alienated, singled out, and targeted for more than a generation?"[37]

No doubt, some Australian Croats remained alienated from Australian society in part because Croat, and also Serb, political activity is, in fact, largely hidden from "outsiders" as it takes place in languages unknown to virtually all

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[36] Prime Minster Gough Whitlam and the Australian Labor Party also feared Vietnamese migrants would vote right-wing.

[37] Author interview with Marjo Despoja, 19 March 2002.

other Australians and within a cultural inheritance, which is also by and large unfamiliar. James Jupp opines that Australia's Croats and Serbs alike are Balkan culturally, though citizens of Australia, and that

> for many Yugoslavs political life centers around the communities and their concern with homeland affairs. As Yugoslavia's politics have always been conducted on a totally different basis from those of Australia, these concerns may insulate Yugoslavs from local political reality as well as alienating them from local institutions (Jupp 1988, 23).

Many Australian Croats added to this homeland-oriented mindset the perpetual belief that Croatia was oppressed within Yugoslavia and that once this oppression ceased and Croatia was "free" again, the majority of Australian Croats would return to their homeland (Skrbi_ 1999). In this belief, Australian Croats mirror Jewish views of the "Babylonian exile" and the expulsion of the Jews from Jerusalem in the sixth century B.C. Nebuchadnezzar, according to tradition, exiled the Jews to Babylon where they languished in captivity and were thereafter dispersed to other foreign lands, compelled to live as outsiders in an often alien and hostile world. "Babylonian exile" connotes forcible expulsions, persecution, and enslavement, and implies the prospect of return. By definition, those in exile are to cultivate their native traditions and culture in preparation for a return to the Promise Land. This is, in fact, a near perfect description of many first-generation Australian Croat nationalists.

A Generational Shift?

This "victim syndrome" is found even among Australian Croat youth. When asked whether they identify themselves as Australians or Croatians, almost

all state that they are Croatian first and Australian second. To be "Australian" for most of the younger generation interviewed for this project, means Australians of English or Irish ancestry. One Croat youth club leader from Geelong, Victoria explained that he is "really a little of both since I am Croatian, but I live in Australia."[38] Another twenty-something Australian Croat offered, "Australians don't have too much in common. That's what multiculturalism really means. You only know who you are because of your blood."[39]

The idea of a Croatian homeland offers to younger generations of Australian Croats a sense of identity and a connection with parents and grandparents. Most second and third generation diaspora community members, however, claim they are, nonetheless, different from the "oldies"—their parents' and grandparents' generations—because they expect to remain in Australia. Although there are numerous cases in the community of young people who have gone to Croatia—especially since independence—many quickly returned disillusioned. It was not the place their parents spoke about and did not provide the creature comforts of Australian life. In fact, I was repeatedly told during a Croatian "Younger Generations Conference" in December 2001, when Australians visit Croatia they "discover just how Australian they are." On numerous occasions globetrotting, younger Australian Croats repeated that they "felt like Mark Viduka," a reference to the Australian soccer star and son of

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[38] Author interview with Ivan Juki_, 8 December 2001.
[39] Author interview with Ivan Sutalo, 8 December 2001.

Croatian immigrants, who once reportedly said that "In Australia, I'm Croatian; but in Croatia, I'm Australian."

In reality, during the long Cold War both "oldies" and "youngies" in the Croat nationalist diaspora managed to put down some roots in Australia, but as Edward Said observes,

> Exile can produce rancor and regret, as well a sharpened vision. What has been left behind can either be mourned, or it can be used to provide a different set of lenses. Since almost by definition exile and memory go together, it is what one remembers of the past that determines how one sees the future (Said 2001, XXXV).

What was remembered most by the Croat diaspora in the 1990s was the unresolved legacy of the Second World War. Given the political experiences in the former Yugoslavia and their relevance for the Croat diaspora, it should come as no surprise that many Croats simply prefer politics they can understand or that seems important to them. This was never more evident than during Yugoslavia's disintegration in 1991, when animosities between the different Yugoslav nationalities in Australia intensified and when in April 1993 leaders of both communities warned of "a war on our streets."

Homeland Calling

These events and mobilizations, and energized debate about the future of the Croat nation, helped transform Australia's Croat community from a disenchanted, sometimes fractious ethnic group into a powerful and relatively wealthy diaspora with a new sense of purpose and confidence in the 1990s. The

shift is well explained by Ilija Sutalo, a Croatian Club student leader at the University of Melbourne in the early 1990s:

> I think Croatians are like Chinese: they're always out for themselves and their family first. Serbs are like Japanese, they're more cohesive. Even if they're enemies they'll stick together. Even during the war. Karadicz and Milosevic were enemies, but they decided to get along. Croatians aren't like that. If you get five Croatian together you'll get five different political viewpoints. Even in Geelong where there are about 5000 Croats, they have two completely different clubs. Then you have the soccer club, which is neutral. Then you've got the Church. And then you have completely different cliques. Only during the war did people get along because for once their was a common purpose, a reason to see past political differences and personal slights. It was really amazing.[40]

Paul Hockenos records another exchange between a right-wing émigré Croat and then Croatian President Tudjman about Tudjman's past affiliation with the Yugoslav Communist Party:

> One man stood up and defiantly announced that he had carried a rifle for the Ustashe. "If I had caught you in the forest forty years ago," he assailed Tudjman, "you'd be dead now. And if you caught me, I'd be dead." The hall stood still. "But whatever the case," he continued with a nod, "I'm behind you now" (Hockenos 2003, 47).

Indeed, many Australian Croat communal organizations that until the 1990s called themselves "Yugoslavian," promptly changed their names and allegiances, to reflect their newly identified ethnic difference from Serbs. At their private clubs, and back-room meetings at diaspora community festivals and conventions they fantasized about returning together to an independent Croatia—one that stretched to cover the Croatian republic, half of Bosnia, and all the way to the Drina River, just at it had in the 1940s.

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[40] Author interview with Iljia Sutalo, 16 Novermber 2001.

A key cause of this change was intensified transnational links. But these homeland-diaspora relations were complex. Did homeland politicians control the purse strings of the diaspora? Or were the political forces in the homeland spurred on by militant exiles? Ample evidence indicates that the overseas ethnic communities mobilized to aid nationalist political factions in the homeland well before the shooting started. And Tudjman and other homeland politicians boldly reached out to the diaspora during exploratory trips to Australia in the late 1980s. A key component of Tudjman's Croatian National Policy was the concept of "Iseljena Hrvatska" or "Exiled Croatia" which implied that all ethnic Croats living outside Croatia proper were in fact political exiles who still "belonged" to Croatia. The goal was to repatriate and re-nationalize diaspora Croats to Croatia and the national cause.

Tudjman's literature, posters, stickers, and badges sold like hotcakes in Australia. Touring HDZ politicians and cultural troupes collected cash for T-shirts and videotapes.[41] Australian Croats who had never before participated in Croatian community life were urged to join existing and newly created ethnic organizations and reaffirm their ethnic identity. The Melbourne-based bi-lingual newspaper *Croatian Herald* estimated that the diaspora community raised more than three million Australian dollars for Tudjman. All told, by 1991 overseas Croats had raised US$30 million to fund the war for independence and over the next few

[41] Sometimes real hotcakes of considerable value were sold. Rumor in Melbourne's Croat community has it that one fruitcake adorned with Croatia's coat of arms went to the highest bidder for seven hundred Australian dollars in an HDZ-sponsored bake sale.

years the Tudjman government received more than US $4 million for the HDZ election campaign in 1990 (Glenny 1996; Masanauskas 1991).

Some observers intimate that diasporic Croats, in essence, bought their right to vote (see Glenny 1996; Hayden 1992). Following independence, the Croatian government under Tudjman established rules by which up to 400,000 Croats with no permanent residence in Croatia were eligible to vote in national elections. Polling stations were periodically erected by the Croatian government in its Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and Perth consulates, as well as in community centers, clubs, and churches designated by Zagreb. No accurate figures exist regarding how many Australian Croats have voted in Croatian elections, but estimates from Croatian officials suggest as many as 150,000 Croats around the globe may have done so.[42]

Australian citizens of Croatian origin participated in the 1990 Yugoslav election without holding Yugoslavian citizenship and in the 1992 Croatian election without holding Croatian citizenship. This constituted a departure from the practice that acquisition of citizenship in a host society denotes a new political allegiance, and it indicated that the Croatian state viewed the adoption of Australian citizenship by the diasporic community as a formality. Croats' 95.9% naturalization rate indicated that many Croats took out Australian citizenship to improve their position in Australian society or affirm a new loyalty.[43] But this act

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[42] Estimates based on author interviews with Tony Juri_, 29 October 2001, and Tom Starcevik, 19 November 2001.

[43] At the 2001 Census, the rate of Australian Citizenship for the Croatia-born in Australia was significantly greater than the 75.1 per cent rate for all overseas-born.

did not necessarily mean that they renounced their loyalty to their homeland. Additionally, in 1992 the worldwide Croatian diaspora was granted representation in the Croatian parliament. Initially, twelve seats out of 92 were reserved for diaspora Croats, as compared to only seven for national ethnic minorities, so that non-resident ethnic kin were provided more political representation than the resident non-Croat population.

The relations between Croatian officials and Australia's diaspora Croats are not always congruent, and signs of some old fissures continued to exist. Beyond the common desire for homeland independence, diasporic Croat unity was difficult to fashion and

> [f]rom early on, Croatians were divided along ideological lines as to the fate of Croatia. For example, although most Croatians were united in their opposition to the Serbian government…conflicts still erupted over the events leading up to that war. Accusations of pro-fascist or Communist sympathies were commonly exchanged by different diasporan factions (Winland 1995, 9).

A senior Croatian Minister reported in 1991 that well-funded and organized Australian Croats returned to Croatia intent on undermining peace, frustrating negotiations between Serbian and Croatian officials, and pressing the Croatian government to declare full independence immediately, and to forcing a military solution to the Yugoslav conflict (Clark 1991). Croatian officials, perhaps including Tudjman, believed that Croat acquisition of Serb-held land could be gained peacefully, perhaps through some sort of swap. The émigrés objected vigorously and believed that conflict could not be solved without bloodshed. That is, whereas homeland Croats, perhaps including Tudjman, who had lived for years in Belgrade and better appreciated the cost of war, felt that a political solution was

possible, anti-Serb Croat émigrés were more prepared to demand independence, even at the cost of Croat lives and the destruction of property in the homeland.

Home and Back Again

Accurate statistics regarding return migration are difficult to obtain because many Australian Croats who emigrated to Croatia maintained their dual Croatian and Australian citizenships, something that is not apparent in immigration or other official government statistics in either country. However, simple observation suggests that second and third generation descendents in the diaspora were so caught up in the fervor of the early 1990s that they returned to Croatia in significant numbers.

Australian columnist Frank Devine recounts how during a vacation to Croatia in 1997 he was surprised to hear English language news bulletins read by "a woman with a strong, pleasant Australian accent" and that the newsreader, Kate Marijan was one of about 3,000 young Australians of Croat descent who returned to live in the country of their forebears. After that episode, Devine more readily noticed young Australian Croat investment bankers in Zagreb, a young building contractor from Melbourne on his way to meet a few other Australian Croats for a few beers after mass (very Australian), and even an Australian-born Zagreb University professor who returned to Croatia at age twenty in 1990 and learned how to make Molotov cocktails during the war.[44]

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[44] See Frank Devine, "They Still Call Croatia Home," *The Australian*, 26 May 1997, p.13.

The number of Australian Croats who left Australia to fight for an independent Croatia is also not officially known, but anecdotal reports suggest that there were at least several dozen.[45] A common rumor in Melbourne is that six such young men from Australia, Germany, and the United States earned the rank of general. Croatia's Minister for the Interior suggested in 1991 that thousands of Australian Croats arrived back in their homeland and joined the proxy war against the communist led Yugoslav Army.

That "thousands" of young Croats returned to fight is probably an exaggeration, though the Croatian Democratic Union of Australia acknowledged that some young Australian Croat men "have gone over there and come back full of hate." Colorful press accounts abounded in the early 1990s regarding a Melbourne resident, "Tony", who was fighting in Dubrovnik for his homeland. His parents, still in Melbourne, thought he worked for the Red Cross, but he admitted his participation in a crack paramilitary unit. He said he knew of more than 20 Australians fighting as hired hands for Croatia and recounted, "one of my mates loves to go in really close range with a sawn-off shotgun and blast their brains out when they least expect it. And he's a knife man, too. I'm not."[46]

What is more certain is that diaspora Croats spent millions of dollars to aid Croatia in its hour of need—on arms, humanitarian aid, and on political lobbying to push their host countries to recognize Croatia's statehood. The most

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[45] Daphne Winland (1999), for example, reports that about 100 Canadian Croats returned and fought for Croatian independence while nearly forty times that number returned from around the globe returned between 1991-1998 to settle in their homeland.

[46] See news coverage of Australians returning from war in the former Yugoslavia in *The Australian Financial Review*, 11 July 1991, p. 12; and *The West Australian,* July 14, 1992.

nationalistic among them helped shift popular discourse in Croatia to the right and promoted the use of nationalist symbols in Australia and elsewhere. The effect of this mobilization on relations among Croats and Serbs in Australia will be examined after a review of the Australian Serb diaspora community below.

AUSTRALIA'S SERBS

Amid a sea of Serbian, Montenegrin, Macedonian and Greek flags and chants of "Serb-ia", fifteen thousand Australian Serbs and their supporters demonstrated outside American consulates in Australia's major cities on 29 March, 1999. The demonstrators vented their outrage at the American-led attacks on Yugoslavia and Serb interests in Kosovo the preceding week. Australian Serb youth clashed with riot police in both Sydney and Melbourne and several hundred demonstrators wrestled with security guards in an attempt to gain entrance to the U.S. consulate in Sydney. They were unsuccessful, but the American flag was hauled from its pole and burned. Across the street shop windows were smashed and a car parked in front of the consulate was vandalized. Two police received wounds needing medical attention after confronting the protesters.

A larger, and more peaceful, protest occurred simultaneously in front of the Sydney Opera House where Prime Minister Howard was scheduled to speak at a celebration rally honoring Australia's Greek community. This more somber and gray-haired protest was organized by the ad hoc "Movement for the Protection of Kosovo and Metohija" whose spokesman, Ilija Glisic, was also head of the

Serbian National Federation of Australia (SNF).[47] The dominant theme of all the protests, suggests Glisic, was comparison of the 1999 bombings with the Nazi attack on Yugoslavia in 1941.[48]

In this effort, banners at all the rallies denounced the hypocrisy of the Western powers who, Serbs contend, turned a blind eye to Serb suffering, just as they did during the Croatian military operation that led to the expulsion from their homes of tens of thousands of Krajina Serbs in 1995. One senior citizen protester in Sydney carried a sign, with attached photocopies of a newspaper story about his reception as a hero at an Allied forces reunion in America, stating he had personally saved the lives of 15 American airmen during the Second World War. American jets, he proclaimed, were now dropping bombs on his grandchildren.

Among the banners critical of the United States and the Howard Government's support for the American bombing of Yugoslavia were other flags that made liberal use of the symbols of the Serb nationalist Chetnik forces of World War II. Scores of younger demonstrators wore distinctive Chetnik caps with the military symbols of the old Serbian monarchy. Others carried Serb flags with royalist emblems. Some youth even carried the black flag and skull symbol of the more notorious Chetnik units side by side with the icons and crosses of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

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[47]The SNF of Australia (founded 1991) is the largest umbrella organization of Australian Serbs comprising delegates of Serbian national, cultural, sporting, social and humanitarian organizations on a state-by-state basis. Each state branch elects representatives for the federal body. The SNF's objectives revolve around political and media lobbying, representation and defending community needs and also humanitarian fundraising. The SNF also works in close contact with the two Serbian Orthodox Dioceses in Australia.

[48] Author interviews with Ilija Glisic on 3-5 March 2002.

The 1999 protests of Australian Serbs reveal much about the formation and evolution of Serbian identity in Australia in the 1990s. First and most clearly, the trauma experienced by Australian Serbs in witnessing the television and newspaper images of the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia in 1999 was, according to Nicholas Procter, doubly injurious to the Australian Serb psyche. In the early and mid-1990s the Serb community had already witnessed the Yugoslav wars with shock and horror. Throughout the decade, diasporic Serbs felt like scapegoats and outsiders in Australia since when almost the entire world "believes that one of the groups is the main perpetrator of war, there are increased feelings of alienation and discomfort" (Procter 1998, 1). This sentiment mirrored Australian Serb criticism of the United Nations, the Australian government, and the Australian press during the Bosnia crisis:

> The Serbs have been bombed by NATO forces for indiscretions that they have committed but the Muslim and Croat forces have never even had the threat of bombing when they have committed similar indiscretions.[49]

Serbia's forced withdrawal from Kosovo was, therefore, another devastating loss in a decade of losses to the nationalists in the Serb diaspora, whose conception of a mythic "Greater Serbia" had never wavered. Many Australian Serbs watched in disbelief as their dream of a Serbia that stretched across most of the former Yugoslavia receded with every successive defeat of the Serbian armed forces—in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and then in Kosovo.

More often than not, Australian Serbs felt they, too, were also literal victims of the homeland wars, but that their pains were either ignored or forgotten

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[49] Author interview with Glisic, op cit.

by the wider Australian community. Melbourne healthcare workers and ethnic community activists verify this circumstance and report that Australian Serbs who fled Croatia and Bosnia in the mid-1990s make up the bulk of the caseload of Victoria's Foundation for the Survivors of Torture and Trauma patients.[50] Many Serb refugees reported that they were beaten with baseball bats and rifle butts by Croat and Bosnian Muslim paramilitaries. Others report rapes, being forced to watch the torture of family and neighbors, and being forced to commit sexual acts with family members. These traumas, Australian welfare authorities suggest, are regularly manifest in mental illnesses, high suicide rates, and marital discord in the Serb community.

Second, like the concomitant mobilization of the Croat community in the 1990s, Australian Serbs gained an increased identification with Serbian nationalism and revived old symbols used in previous Balkan wars. Just as diasporic Croats maintained a belief in a unified, independent Croatia throughout the Tito years, so pockets of the smaller Serb diaspora were true believers in the Serbian royalist dreams of restoring the Karadjordjevi_ monarchy of Yugoslavia. The state they envisioned encompassed all of Serbia proper, as well as Montenegro, most of Bosnia, and large swathes of Croatia and Macedonia.

On the precipice of the Yugoslavian disintegration, thousands of diaspora Serbs joined the estimated one million pilgrims who descended on Kosovo's Field

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[50] Several stories in *The Age*, 26 April 1999, document Serbs and the "forgotten victims" of the Balkan war and tell their stories and of the efforts of Australian social and welfare workers to mend physical and psychological wounds of Serb refugees.

of Blackbirds on the Serbs' revered St. Vitas Day in 1989 to celebrate the six hundredth anniversary of the Serbian defeat at the hands of the Ottomans. The date 28 June 1389 is etched deep in the collective memory of the Serbs. According to legend, it was on that day that the medieval Serb army fell to the Ottoman Turks, ushering in four centuries of foreign rule over Serbia. The story of the valiant and hopelessly outnumbered Serb commander, Prince Lazar, who waged war against the Turks and perished—rather that surrender—is an epic passed sown in Serbia from generation to generation. The defeat at Kosovo Field launched four hundred years of persecution and oppression at the hands of the Ottomans, which the Serbs broke only in the nineteenth century after years of rebellion. The key lesson entrenched in the Serb collective psyche is the conviction that Serbia was, and remains today, a holy Christian bulwark against Islam and the frontline nation in the centuries old battle between East and West.[51]

Among the numbers of pilgrims in 1989 were several hundred émigrés from Australia. The thought that armed battles would soon engulf Yugoslavia seemed alarmist to the Australians. In contrast to the Australian Croats' spectacular bombings and paramilitary campaigns in early decades, Australia's Serbs were relatively docile during the Cold War. They were not in the 1980s pondering war, but after years of hibernation the diaspora was awakening from a

[51] Scholars familiar with this history are not surprised by Serbia's offer to send troops to Afghanistan to aid in the hunt for Islamists and Bin Laden in 2002, nor by Serb paramilitary fighters predilection to fight to the death rather than surrender in the face of overwhelming Western firepower in both the Bosnia and Kosovo campaigns.

long national slumber and reviving pernicious myths and symbols that would erupt once the Cold War was over.

Third, and perhaps most importantly, the Serb community throughout the 1990s grew increasingly incredulous at their reversal of fortune. Since the Second World War, Australian Serbs had viewed themselves as allies with the anti-fascist powers of that war. They were dumbfounded at the lack of sympathy for a greater Serbian state and dismayed to discover that in the 1990s their homeland kin and, by extension, themselves—and not Croatian nationalists nor Albanian or Bosnian Muslims—were viewed as the aggressors in the Balkans. Many Australian Serbs maintained that Australia, and other Western countries, had been badly duped by a coalition of adversarial forces ranging from the Vatican to Islamic-paid lobby groups.

Nascent organizations such as SNF, the Serbian National Council (SNC) and the Cause of Australian Serbs (CAS) were hastily founded to counter the the lobbying and public relations efforts of the Australian Croat community. The Australian Serb organizations desperately tried to challenge the conventional wisdom that the war that ravaged such large part of the former Yugoslavia was a war of Serbian aggression, but admit their efforts largely failed.[52]

Forgotten Brothers or Serbia's Little Helpers?

The single most striking trait of the Serb diaspora in Australia, and elsewhere, is that most of its members do not come from Serbia proper at all. The

[52] Author interview with SNF president Ilija Glisic, 3-5 March 2002.

first influx of Serb émigrés to Australia in the 1880s came almost entirely from the Austro-Hungarian territories north of Serbia and in Dalmatia. And a large number of Australian Serbs trace their family origins to present Bosnia and Croatia, a fact that strongly colored their emotional reactions to the wars there in the 1990s.

These working class Serb migrants had little in common with the displaced officer corps and royalist sympathizers who escaped Partisan-controlled Yugoslavia after World War II. These post-War political exiles arrived in Australia bitter about lost property and status, and convinced—not unlike nationalist Australian Croats—that a victorious return to the homeland was imminent. They had escaped Yugoslavia with Tito's troops in pursuit and most had pledged loyalty to the royalist supreme commander, Draza Mihailovic, to the deposed and exiled king, Peter II, and to the Karadjordjevi_ blood line that had ruled Serbia, and sometimes Yugoslavia, since it threw off the Ottoman yoke. To the Australian Serbs loyal to the Mihailovic movement, their cause represented anti-fascism and Anglophilia, since London welcomed King Peter who there reconstituted a government-in-exile.

Creating New-Old Serbian Identities

When thousands of Serb refugees fled Milosevic's Serbia for Australia during the 1990s, they encountered a Serb diaspora community in a disoriented, time-warped world locked in a bygone era—Yugoslavia circa 1950. And by all accounts Milosevic had the Serbian diaspora in his sights even before the end of

the Cold War. In the late 1980s, he relaxed some of the more draconian restrictions on the visitation rights of political exiles and he hatched an ambitious investment scheme to mine the Serb diaspora for long-term loans to purportedly modernize Serbian industry. As it turned out, the sum of monies and remittances financed Serbia's part in the 1991-1996 war (Hockenos 2003, 5). And the Australian Serb community—and not unlike the Croat diaspora—played along and revealed chauvinistic instincts that rivaled the attitudes of their cousins in the homeland, including regularly referring to Serb peace activists in Australia as traitors and "Croat spies."

Even old-school monarchists who had fled Yugoslavia in the sights of communist rifles ironically excused Milosevic's previous Partisan affiliations in the hope of finally having their life-long dream materialize, and because Milosevic spoke up for Serb interests. They initially promoted him as national hero and a man who would create Greater Serbia, and aevenge them for the atrocities that the Croatian Ustashe committed against the Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia in the 1940s. In the early 1990s Milosevic became everything for everyone. Serb historian Aleksa Djilas says that

> For old-style communists he was as close as you could get to an old-style communist. To Chetniks he seemed like some kind of neo-Cheknik. To those who wanted to keep Yugoslavia at all costs he seemed like someone who might be able to keep Yugoslavia together with the help of the army and party. To those who were concerned about Serbian national interests, he could protect Serbian national interests. And to democrats, well, there was a certain liberalization that took place, for which he's not given sufficient credit today, but it did happen. He was also a banker who worked in New York, so some people were expecting economic reforms. They said here's a young guy who is primarily a manager and businessman rather than a party ideologue (Hockenos 2003, 126).

The nearly 100,000 Serbian Australians, in contrast with their Australian Croat counterparts, must normally return to the former Yugoslavia to vote and engage in homeland politics. They were the focus of one of the most peculiar twists of dual citizenship in action in recent times (Marinkovic, 2001). In 1993 Australian-based Bosnian Serbs voted overwhelmingly against the UN-proposed Vance-Owen peace plan which would divide war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina into 10 autonomous ethnic regions. More than 10,000 of the estimated 22,000 eligible Bosnian Serbs turned out to vote at special polls authorized by Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic.[53] Voting was theoretically open to Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats living in Australia, but since most of the polling stations were set up in Serbian Orthodox churches and Australian-Serb clubs, few Bosnians of other ethnic designation exercised the option.

The most remarkable feature of the referendum was that many of those voting were not born in Bosnia nor other parts of the former Yugoslavia, had never visited the country, and were too young to remember many of the World War II atrocities which have partly caused the bloody civil war. Some Bosnian Serb Australians thus voted to support Karadzic and his policies only two months after the 1993 Australian Federal election. But while the Serb diaspora had a key role to play in Milosevic's script he, unlike Croatia's Tudjman, never reimbursed

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[53] See multiple stories in *The Age*, 17 May 1993, regarding the Australian Serb vote. The Karadzic referendum on the Vance-Owen Plan was lopsided with 89% of the Bosnian Serbs nationwide voting "no" and fully 99.5% of the community in Melbourne voting "no." See also Neales (1993).

the diaspora for their troubles with diasporic appointments to his inner circle, nor provided the political support for a pro-Serb lobbying campaign in the West.

The Serbian government was not prepared for a lobbying contest and thus failed to engage public relations firms to fight the media war as did the Croats. When the SNF sent press releases to all the major Australian papers in 1991 and 1992 arguing the point that the right to national self-determination granted to the Slovenes, Croats, and Bosnian Muslims, was denied to the Serbs who were relegated to second-class citizen status in the newly formed Bosnia and reformed Croatia, it did so without homeland government advice or oversight.

During the Cold War years royalist émigrés in groups such as the Serbian National Defense Council (SNDC) and the Serbian Unity Congress (SUC) built anticipation for the day when nationalist Serbs would overthrow Tito and Communist Party rule in Belgrade. Behind the guise of Yugoslav brotherhood, they charged, Tito's ambition was to tie Serbia's hands and to keep it fractured and weak. Even during these early years, Australian Serbs expressed indignation, especially when Labor controlled government, that Australia and other Western powers could support, or have friendly relations, with Yugoslavia. Adopting a strategic Cold War perspective was near impossible for nationalist-minded Serbs with recent memories and stories of their humiliation. Many could not fathom how Australia could back communists rather than their movement, even though Mihailovic and his fighters rescued more than 500 American and British airmen trapped behind enemy lines in Serbia in 1944 (Hockenos 2003). Australian Serb dismay at Western forgetfulness played out again in the 1990s. Nonetheless, only

occasionally did diaspora Chetniks mimic the overzealous stunts of their Croat counterparts.[54]

For their part, the SNF warned that Australia could face serious unrest from Croat and Serb communities when "volunteers" from both sides returned from fighting in the former Yugoslavia. To their credit, the SNF suggested Australia enforce the Foreign Incursions Act from the 1970s to keep returning soldiers from causing havoc.[55] But Australian curiosity was instead captured by tales of the notorious "Captain Dragan," the nom de guerre of an Australian of Serbian origin leading a Serbian paramilitary group in southern Croatia.[56] Dragan shocked Melbourne and Sydney newspaper readers with claims that he believed "in democracy and freedom of speech" because he was "brought up in a democratic society," but that "[w]hen the Croatian side uses hospitals or police stations in their villages as fortified positions, I'm sorry, I just have to massacre them."[57]

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[54] A few of these incidents regarding Serbs in the United States, including a handful of bombings of Yugoslav facilities and how Serbian émigrés helped to finish off the decorated diplomatic career of George Kennan are recounted briefly in Chapter 5.

[55] This anti-mercenary law makes it an offense for Australian nationals to engage in activities hostile to another country without state sanction.

[56] Some reporters believed Dragan to be former Australian SAS, but Melbourne police believed him to be Daniel Pavic, a.k.a. Daniel Snedden, a small-time Melbourne criminal who once ran a chain of suburban call girl services.

[57] See multiple stories on the notorious "Captain Dragan" in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 July 1991, and *The Age*, 6 August, 1991.

Moving Beyond Pariah Status

The result of bad press, no homeland support, and the shock of becoming a pariah community, suggests one former executive of the SNDC's Melbourne branch, was a very successful media campaign by the Croat media machine in "demonizing" the Serbs throughout the world and a one-sided public view where the Serbs were "the guilty party for everything…like an open hunt."[58] That demonization was felt by Australian Serbs and led to claims of anti-Serb discrimination in the workplace, at schools, and by the Federal government. Moreover, the one-sided Australian sanctions against Serbia made it very difficult for Australian Serbs to send money or aid to their loved ones and also made travel and contact by mail and phone more difficult than necessary. Glisic suggests that

> [Serbs] had a pretty rough trot since the civil war broke out in the former Yugoslavia. Apart from the media bias, the main concern to the community is the injudicious handling of issues by the Government. The Serbs of Australia have in large measure been left to their own devices and resources to defend the community against, if you can believe it, the Government and, of course, the media.[59]

SNF executives met with Bob Hawke and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Gareth Evans on several occasions. They warned of the dangers of premature recognition of independent states in the former Yugoslavia and predicted the enormous tragedy that would befall the people in the former Yugoslavia if secession was not dealt with appropriately. Glisic reported that his warnings fell on deaf ears and that Hawke and Evans proceeded to follow the

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[58] Author interview with Glisic, 3-5 March 2002.

[59] Author interview with Glisic, ibid.

errors of the international community and wanted to acknowledge the breaking up of the former Yugoslavia based on the principle of recognizing the internal community designed republican boundaries as new international borders, which would leave Serb populations stranded in Croatia and Bosnia.

This, the Australian Serbs leadership warned, had happened before:

> The decision to run blind and particularly recognition of internal administrative areas as new internal states precipitated an enormous human, cultural, and historic tragedy. Just look at what they did with the FYROM recognition. It almost resulted in an all out ethnic revolt never seen before in Australia. There was also a lot of insensitivity and bias in the Governments approach to the humanitarian aid dispatch to refugees created by the war. About half of the refugees displaced by the war fled to Serbian territories and those territories were under severs sanction by the world community. We explained this in person and in writing to the Government, but they did little to assist in facilitating aid transfer to those refugees. I think the numbers were something like $20,000 out of $3 million went to Serbs, that's .7%.[60]

The SNF also applied for visas for prominent Serbs to visit Australia to assist with humanitarian fundraising, but the Government denied them entry visas. The denial of a visa for Dr. Biljana Plavsic, a Serbian parliamentarian was challenged in Federal Court and overturned, but Serbs could not believe they had to go to such great lengths to pressure the Government to take an even-handed approach. Several Australian Serbs claimed in the course of interviews that the other Balkan communities had virtually unhindered access to their people overseas, and that alleged war criminals have been granted visas to enter Australia. This was, of course, an oblique reference to Tudjman's visit and the Croatian HDZ party members' frequent trips to the Australian Croat community.

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[60] Author interview with Glisic, ibid.

With tensions running high and relations among Australian Croats, Australian Serbs, and the Australian government turning sour, how was Croat-Serb conflict curbed?

Chapter 4: Australia's Informal Success

CHANNELING DIASPORA POLITICS

The contemporary Australian mindset has shifted from the navel-gazing of earlier generations when Australia felt isolated geographically and politically, toward a more outward-looking, regionally interested perspective. So much so, suggests Jerzy Smolicz, that Australia is now a prime example of a country that "claims to be building a multicultural nation and state on the basis of the cultural contribution of over one hundred ethnic groups" (Smolicz 1998, 5). For the most part, Australia's scattered migrant communities have shown a determination to both preserve their cultures and to integrate into the existing political and social framework of the country. This effort, however, is not always simple and there remains the dilemma of reconciling immigrants' (and their descendents') love for their homelands and its cultures, on the one hand, and their desire to adapt to Australian society and politics, on the other.

As noted in Chapter 3, a substantial percentage of immigrants from diverse sources arrive in Australia with problematic homeland baggage. Ethnic nationalist kin living outside the borders, but still actively engaged in the affairs of their homelands, expose a persistent and increasing challenge to maintaining peaceful inter-ethnic relations (Constas and Pliatis 1993; Huntington 1996; Sheffer 1986). And a number of events during the last half-century indicate that underneath Australia's well-publicized veneer of peaceful inter-ethnic relations all is not rosy and that the relatively harmonious state of affairs is, in fact, hard won.

The concept of institutional channeling (see Chapters 1-2) suggests that immigrants' forms of political participation in host countries relate to the specific political opportunity structures which immigrants face. The more inclusive the political system is, the more the activities are channeled into that system and shaped accordingly, rather than taking place outside the system in more confrontational or extra-legal forms (Ireland 1994; Soysal 1995). However, studies that explicitly use an institutional channeling approach mainly focus on immigrants fighting for their rights in the host society, and do not pursue the dimension of homeland politics in a similarly systematic fashion. To what extent is the concept of institutional channeling also applicable to the integration of homeland political interests and activities into the political system of the migrants' receiving country? And when migrant communities' homeland interests are not compatible, how are inter-ethnic conflicts managed or curbed?

In order to answer these questions, this chapter traces the multi-level strategies that Australian Croats and Australian Serbs carried out in their host country. It demonstrates how some in each community used confrontational strategies, while others employed more institutional participation. Croats and Serbs in Australia are certainly anchored in their local political institutional context. Many in both communities usually exercised a combination of formal and informal, confrontational and cooperative strategies. Australia is not a free haven for all kinds of activities, and the extent of Australian tolerance and attentiveness to Croat-Serb relations ranged from forbidding some demonstrations to ignoring diasporic connections to actively lending support to one community or the other. To the extent that the Australian political system, and the foreign

policymaking apparatus in particular, appeared to be closed to input of Australian Serbs and Australian Croats, each community increasingly vented their frustrations in public, and sometimes that frustration spilled-over into overt confrontation that seemed to augur even more intense, and perhaps bloody conflict.

Considering this, I argue that the choice of diaspora mobilization strategy and the contours of inter-diaspora relations are related to the communities' agendas as established by their respective leaderships, and especially by the extent to which they are compatible with that of host country political officials and aligned with host country norms and expectations. I contend that the rapid deterioration of the former Yugoslavia and the real and imagined ties between ethnic kin there and abroad provided the necessary spark and fuel for intensified Croat-Serb relations in Australia. But field interviews, press reports, and public documents also reveal that the changing public perceptions of Serbs and Croats in the Australian media and among political officials sometimes provided an accelerant for conflict escalation.

This contention complicates the functionalist understanding of the significance of the receiving country's political opportunity structures. A key aspect of this analysis suggests that the concept of institutional channeling presupposes a "boundedness" of the political dialogue between migrants and their host state. Yet, it is the unbounded nature of Croat and Serb orientation and ties to their homelands that are their key defining features. Australian Croats and Australian Serbs regularly draw upon, and are exploited by, their political and ethnic counterparts in the Balkans and in other diasporic contexts.

The absence of regular, systematic and overt violence between Croats and Serbs did not mean that ethnic relations were necessarily well managed by Australian authorities. It meant only that tensions often failed to take a visible, collective form. While inter-ethnic tensions and violence between Serbs and Croats did not spiral out of control, there were "near misses"—there were fertile conditions for violence and participants feared violence may become unmanageable and get out of hand (Horowitz 2001). The feared levels of violence never materialized in any systematic way. And inter-community conflict led to the evolution of effective mechanisms to control it.

I suggest that these mechanisms arose from the mundane influences of liberal values in Australia. The lesson is straightforward: liberal democracies accept dramatic forms of political participation like protests and demonstrations, but they also grant their citizens civil and political rights, making discrimination less likely. For this reason, the most drastic forms of political protest are often not required, and violence and domestic conflict are less likely.

The Australian political context conditioned the rival communities and habituated them to recognize they not only had matters in dispute, but also had interests in common. Serb and Croat leaders in Australia essentially "saw the writing on the wall," calculated their interests, and chose to de-escalate and temper the inter-ethnic conflict in Australia in an effort to improve their public image and to maintain intra-diaspora cohesion.

While formal political institutions, including Australia's official multiculturalism, channeled Croat and Serb community energies in varying degrees, the crucial factor limiting inter-diasporic violence in Australia was the

strenuous work of diaspora elites to direct group behavior according to the expectations of the wider Australian host society. That is, ethnic community leaders modified their own goals and hostility, and that of their followers, in order to harmonize their causes with wider Australian political and social expectations.

The editor of the Croatian Herald, Tom Starcevik, suggests that Australian Croats, and by extension Australian Serbs, were hyper-aware and careful to craft positive public images:

> The Croatian-Serbian problem is internationalized and we had an inability to rationally discuss anything. Of course demonstrations were one way to earn some recognition for our [Croatian] cause, but we knew we had to be careful about where and how to demonstrate, and what to say."[61]

In other words, Australian Croats engaged in self-censorship, formed new community goals, or redefined their foreign policy and homeland interests ever cognizant of the judgment of Australian political officials and especially the media and public.

The following analysis considers four main dimensions of interaction between Croat and Serb homeland political interests and the communities' political-institutional context in Australia. The first and second sections describe how the Australian Croat and Australian Serb communities engaged in confrontational participation with each other. Some Croats and Serbs used Australian public space for extremist activities, such as violent campaigns, on the wrong side of Australian law, while others organized demonstrations, mass-meetings, fly posting, graffiti, and civil disobedience. A minority of Croats and

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61 Author interview with Tom Starcevik, 9 November 2001.

Serbs lashed out at one another with violence or threats of violence Others engaged in more constructive institutional participation, including letter writing and direct lobbying of Australian officials, whereby Croats and Serbs worked with or sometime even within Australian political institutions or pan-ethnic organizations.

I then examine the roles, and varying success, of Australian public officials and state institutions mitigating Croat-Serb tensions. Finally, I assess how Australian Croat and Australian Serb elites tailored homeland and transnational ties in conjunction with the expectations of the Australian public and public officials to police their communities and limit the potential for inter-ethnic violence.

ETHNO-NATIONAL CONFRONTATION

"There are two main types of activist reactions to discontent with organizations to which one belongs or with which one does business," suggests Albert Hirschman, "either voice one's complaints, while continuing as a member or customer, in the hope of improving matters; or exit from the organization, to take one's business elsewhere" (Hirschman 1978, 90). Exit, voting with their feet, is what both nationalist Croats and Serbs did in emigrating from the former Yugoslavia, where their grievances found little voice, to Australia, where they found more. But to the extent Australia, too, provided little access to foreign policy makers in the 1990s, Australian Croats and Australian Serbs were conflicted. Exit back to the former Yugoslavia was one option, as was taking

advantage of new opportunities to send funds, demonstrate, or organize on the Internet. A few individuals in both communities, however, chose to increase the "pitch" of their "voice" and opted for extreme strategies to gain attention, punish their rivals, and vent their fears and hatreds.

Extremist and Illegal Activities[62]

For casual observers and news watchers in the 1990s, the outbreak of Croat-Serb conflicts in Australia seemed sudden; but as demonstrated in Chapter 3, the escalation of tensions was the result of many gradual changes. Certainly, only a fraction of Croats and Serbs resorted to extremist or illegal activities in the 1990s. Nonetheless, in the early 1990s there was continuous tension between Croats and Serbs in Australia. And this was sometimes manifested in the form of Molotov cocktails, attacks on migrant organizations and community centers, and violent incidents when demonstrators clashed in the street.

Earlier generations of violence within Australia's greater Yugoslav population, presented in the previous chapter, were largely intra-communal (e.g. nationalist Croat v. Yugoslav Croat), and thus were watched by Australian police

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[62] My Australian fieldwork (1999 and 2001-2002) was a journey in search of a story about conflict; most of the people I interviewed met with me face-to-face, though often reluctantly at first. I promised on more than one occasion that I wished to understand their actions and motivations, and that I would present them as accurately as I could, even if I disagreed with their politics or their actions, which was often the case. I have tried to honor that pledge. Some interview subjects began with self-serving, one-sided narratives of their involvement in world events and their roles in their respective communities. Other lied blatantly. Still others proved remarkably candid, so convinced of the righteousness of their cause that they reasoned that a genuinely nonpartisan person of sound mind could not help but agree with their arguments and the actions taken. There were some who surely suspected I was not sympathetic with their positions. Nevertheless, most of those with whom I spoke at length won a healthy measure of my respect.

and security forces, but otherwise received relatively patchy attention among the wider Australian public.[63] The violence in the 1990s, in contrast, seemed more like an ongoing feud of retaliations between two now different Australian ethnic communities—Croat and Serb—mirroring the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. This larger, more forbidding row was more widely publicized and scrutinized, and served to stigmatize both the Australian Croat and Australian Serb communities.

From 1990, the Croat community actively pressured the Australian government to recognize an independent Croatia. Croatian National Congress officials went on television and radio to declare they were "sick to the gills" with their treatment in Australia and promised to develop a voting bloc for any politicians who would support the cause of an independent Croatia. This community goal was reached in 1991, but by December of that year the Australian weekly, The Bulletin, warned Australians of a "local Balkan war" and spiraling violence within the Australian Serb and Australian Croat communities.

In fact, within days of the Croatian and Slovenian declaration of independence from the former Yugoslavia, tensions among Australians with ties to the region intensified.[64] Nicolas Procter reports that "conflict over the ownership of land in the Balkans was palpable in the streets and suburbs" of Australia once the homeland conflict made the television news (Procter 2000, 67). Headlines, such as "Heading for the Front Lines," "Serbs in SBS Protest," "Fans

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[63] Aarons (2001) also provocatively argues the development of Croat right-wing émigré political groups was facilitated by Australian government agencies that provided them with resources and protected their leaders from extradition as war criminals.

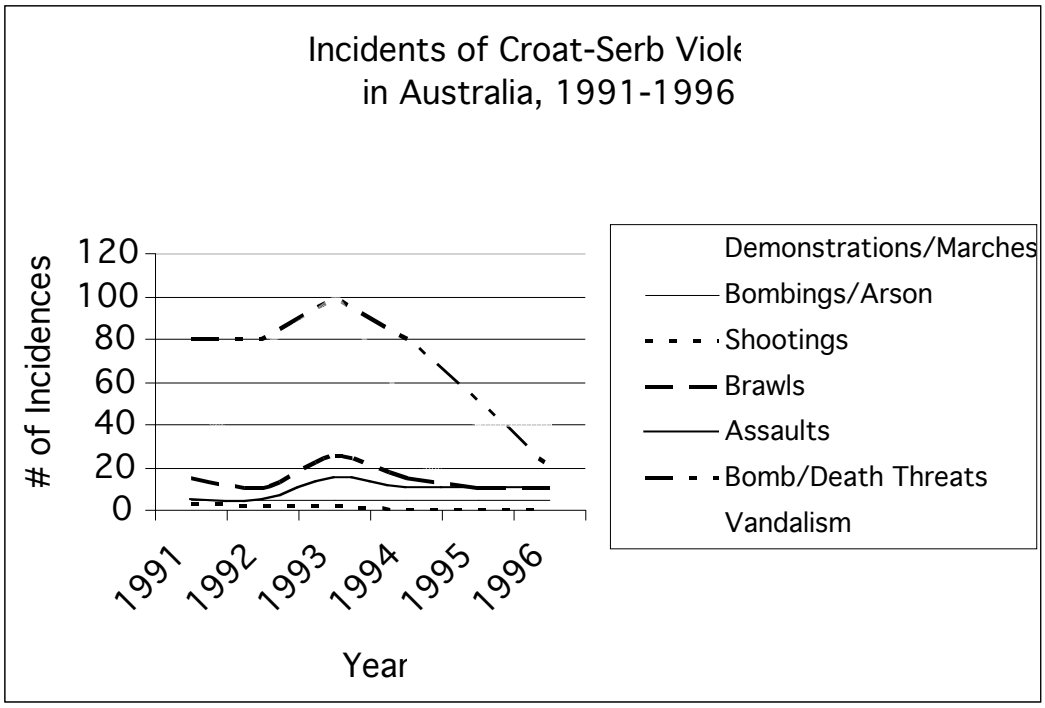
[64] Increase in tension is documented in articles from *Srpski Glas*, 19 July 1991 and *Hrvatski Vjesni*, 29 November 1991 in DIMIA's Multicultural Media Summary.

banned from Soccer Match," "Divided by a Foreign War," and "ASIO Chief in Terror Warning," in the country's major papers reflected often conflicting and shallow impressions of the state of Serb-Croat relations in Australia.

While relations among the ethnic communities may not have been perfect, Australians were told, they appeared far better than the historical experience of the United States, where Americans were accustomed to hearing repeated, dire predictions about ethnic violence. Australia was again a lucky country that managed to bring most Balkan migrants into the fold of Australian partisan politics. Electoral participation, for example, was viewed as real progress and proof of Australia's multicultural policy success. Historically, the Australian Labor Party rhetorically supported the Tito regime and garnered support from self-identified Yugoslavs who routinely voted Labor more often than their social mobility would normally suggest. The Liberal/National Coalition was more supportive of the "Captive Nations" communities, and drew support from both nationalistic Serbs and Croats who, in turn, tended to vote more conservatively than their class position might otherwise indicate. But these counter-intuitive voting patterns indicate the perennial importance of homeland politics.

And for the next half dozen years, while war raged in the former Yugoslavia, there were hundreds more accusations and counter-claims of physical intimidation, menacing and hateful graffiti, pig heads stuck on church gates, defaced and decapitated statues, drive-by shootings, pipe bombings, and a regular barrage of threatening phone calls to community members in Australia (See Figure 3).

Figure 3: Incidents of Croat-Serb Violence



Source: Numbers of incidents are only roughly tabulated using mainstream newspaper reports (*Sydney Morning Herald*, *The Age*, *The Australian*, *The Australian Financial Times*, *The Canberra Times*, *The Courier-Mail*, etc.) and estimates provided by the staffs of the *Croatian Herald* and the *Serbian Voice*.

Despite increased public interest, most of the violence and the actual level of persistent fear and concern in the Serb and Croat communities never reached the attention of the Australian public. Behind the scenes lines were drawn, relations worsened, and suspicions and tensions ran high. Early in 1991, the Yugoslav Consulate General in Melbourne was firebombed. By July, Croat and Serb spectators were banned from attending soccer matches between Croat and Serb clubs, and by spring rallies of Croats several thousand strong demanded both Australian sanctions against Belgrade and recognition for an independent Croatia. Federal police in Canberra responded to threats against Yugoslav diplomats,

gunshots rang out at a Croatian Catholic church in Brisbane, and a Serbian Orthodox church in Melbourne was routinely vandalized. Numerous reports similar to this revealed the high level of tension and concern about the capacity for Australian authorities to contain conflict between the communities.

Even when there was recognition of a common interest on both sides to find a way out of the conflict, movement toward negotiation and settlement proved hampered by mutual suspicion. Anxious to curb violence, Victoria Police Commissioner, John Frame, for example, held separate meetings with Croat and Serb community leaders in Melbourne. He was warned that joint meetings were not advisable and would likely result in shouting matches. He concluded at that time that both sides were diplomatic and that "relationships with Serbs and Croats are pretty low key in Australia." But, Frame added tellingly, "we think it is better left that way."[65]

INSTITUTIONAL UTILITY

Legal conditions and political institutions—at the local municipal, state, and national levels—shape, limit, and direct forms of socio-political mobilization and participation among immigrants (Ireland 1994). That is, institutions affect patterns of human choices by structuring incentives. Specialized political institutions, such as pan-ethnic roundtables or Australia's ethnic affairs councils, are often viewed as key instruments for managing conflicts among ethnicities or migrant communities, as well as conflicts between the government and those its

[65] See Frame's comments in multiple stories in *The Age*, 19 Oct 1991.

governs. However, those policies and institutions most often coupled with effective management of inter-ethnic conflict, and most championed by public officials and academics in Australia, carry little currency in either the Croat or Serb communities. They instead appear a mixed blessing at best, or a malignant complication at worst, to the development of positive inter-diasporic relations.

Policymaking, Participation, and Incentives

In liberal democracies institutional configuration theoretically affords ethnic groups opportunities to shape and participate in the policy process. Politically organized communities often pursue their interests through electoral politics, lobbying, or control of local or regional governments. In general, Australia allows its ethnic and migrant communities to mobilize and there are few legal barriers to political action by ethnic groups through such things as their associations, churches, hiring lobbyists, and the political roles played by official and unofficial ethnic leaders. But mobilization regarding diasporic interests represents a change in kind from run-of-the-mill domestic issues. Political opportunity structures still bound the range of choices available to diasporic community leaders, but these preferences are themselves generated by dynamics often external to the foreign policy process of the host country (Putnam 1988). The Australian system centralizes the foreign policy apparatus and the formation of foreign policy is highly concentrated in a few hands. This insulates foreign policy elites from diasporic lobbying and pressure, but encourages more extreme

efforts by diasporic communities to voice concerns and influence host country policies.

Finding Federal Friends

In the 1990s, both Croat and Serb elites lobbied policymakers with varying results. When Yugoslavia began the process of dissolution into separate nations, the Australian Croat community, in particular, lobbied the Hawke and Keating Governments to support their cause for an independent republic and humanitarian aid throughout the homeland wars.[66] Croat community leaders now feel these efforts were frustrated by a lack of political savvy within the community and were largely ineffective.[67] The effort, however, did produce some marginal success, especially when compared with the paltry effort by, and results for, the Australian Serb community.[68]

Given the precedence of Australian support for self-determination and the independence of the Baltic States from the former Soviet Union during the Cold War, Australian Croats successfully worked to help form the Parliamentarians for Croatia and Slovenia. This cross-party group of Federal MPs lobbied internally

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66 See Chapter 3 for review of the Croat diaspora's direct role in the establishment of the independent Croatian state. By 1991 overseas Croats had raised US$30 million to fund the war for independence and over the next few years the Tudjman government received more than US $4 million for the HDZ election campaign (Glenny 1996; Masanauskas, 1991).

67 Author interview with Tom Starcevik, 19 November 2001.

68 In 1992, Ilija Glisic, then President of the Serbian National Federation, met with Prime Minister Hawke and Foreign Minister Evans to discuss the interests of Australian Serbs and their concerns for kith and kin living in the former Yugoslavia. Glisic reports that this meeting was cordial, though later requests to meet with high-ranking officials where dismissed, leaving Serbs feeling that their interests were misconstrued and shelved by public authorities.

for the Government to recognize and rhetorically support the right of self-determination of the Croatian and Slovenian peoples.

In October 1991, co-chairs Labor MP Andrew Theophanous and Liberal MP Paul Filing forwarded a report to the Hawke Government calling for recognition of an independent Croatia—a goal echoed that month by an estimated 10,000 Australian Croat demonstrators in Canberra. For their part, Australian Serbs protested outside Theophanous' Melbourne offices in October and November. They demanded he address them on his support for Croatian independence and many waved placards, shouted anti-fascist slogans, and accused Theophanous of siding with a foreign country against the interest of Australian citizens. Neither he, nor any other federal politician, granted them an audience or offered an explanation.

This reversal of fortunes for Australian Croats was a vindication for many community leaders who endured public pressure and the stigma of fascism and terrorism for much of the period since the Second World War. To have Serbs publicly reviled as extremists and "un-Australian" was viewed, said one 1990s Croat student leader, as "not something we wanted, but it helped us make our point that we were about freedom and that Milosevi_ was a monster."[69]

THE OFFICIAL STORY: EXTERNAL CONTROLS AND SUCCESSFUL POLICY

The Australian public was thus made aware of the Yugoslav war through emotional media coverage and sometimes impassioned rhetoric by Australian

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69 Author interview with Iljia Sutalo, 16 November 2001.

government officials, political leaders, activists, journalists, and media pundits. As television screens captivated audiences with images of the war, violence, and human suffering, Canberra's foreign policymaking elites and activists jumped to present their views on television, radio, and other public forums. Media attention, and television in particular, gave the impression that the war was thoroughly investigated and that all perspectives were being explored. As the ethnic turmoil intensified, front lines were set up between those who supported more restrained, conservative action by Australia, and those who pushed for active Australian intervention and pressure on behalf of one Yugoslav community or another.

Most key politicians, lacking sufficient information on both Yugoslavia's complexities and the effect of homeland politics on Australia's migrant communities, also presented views on the subject that reflected assumptions generated by individuals who presented clear and concise answers. This made the Australian foreign policy establishment and policymakers vulnerable to the views of advocates of the cause of certain Yugoslav warring parties. Australian Croats and Australian Serbs understood the implications of Canberra's naiveté regarding Yugoslav issues and attempted, with varying success, to gain advantage of the situation to present their own views to Australian decision makers and the media.

In the end, both communities expressed deep disappointments with both their own efforts and with the receptivity of federal and local officials. Serbian community leaders, for example, generally felt that the Australian government sympathized with the Croat and Muslim causes. Father Miroslav Hadzi-Popovic, parish priest for the Serbian Orthodox Church of the "Holy Trinity" in Melbourne complains that,

> Australian politicians did nothing about the Croatians who had Nazi records. We did not do a good job convincing them who the real criminals are in Yugoslavia, but we did what we could. Most of my parish are not politically sophisticated and couldn't change peoples' minds. It was really disappointing so we focused on ourselves and how to get more support for refugee placement.[70]

Croats, too, reported that despite efforts to rehabilitate their public image and apparent success lobbying for a pro-Croatian independence policy in Canberra, the police still spy on Croatian community centers and their members.

Australian public officials generally tell a different story. Attorney General, and former Minister for Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (1998-2001), Philip Ruddock recalls that,

> the turmoil in the former Yugoslavia affected both communities. I remember the demonstrations and their efforts to influence public opinion and policy. The Serbs reported property damage, verbal harassment, and abusive telephone calls. There was tension during ANZAC day marches and some incidents of assaults and bomb threats throughout the 1990s…but their public attitudes to each other were very civilized and formal.[71]

To his knowledge, when potential issues of violence emerged, Croat and Serb community leaders met to discuss ways to avoid the violence. And Ruddock's understanding is that leaders of both the Croat and Serb communities say they always had open and constant access to Federal Government Ministers both during the period of the Labor Government and during the reign of the Coalition Government. The previous Minister for Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (1993-1996), Nick Bolkus, also reports that he regularly met with Croat

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[70] Author interview with fr. Miroslav Hadzi-Popovic, 12 February 2002.

[71] Author interview with Philip Ruddock, 19 March 2002.

and Serb community members to "help calm their nerves" and to express both an "appreciation for their cultures, but also to ask them to appeal for calm and patience within their communities."[72]

Uncovering the extent of constituent-representative interaction is problematic. In fact, most DIMIA archival material paper files relating to this period (1991-1996) were culled and destroyed. However, some records still show that a few members of parliament at the time met with representatives of both communities separately.[73] Labor parliamentarian Kim Carr was one who worked directly with his nervous and distraught Serb constituents. He offers that "there was really little that I could do" and that he accepted the responsibility to provide some "moral boosting," but that the communities had to do the work themselves.[74]

Extant paper records show that during the break up of Yugoslavia, both DIMIA and ASIO were also aware of public violence between Serb and Croat communities centered around church buildings and particularly at soccer games. But the claim that when potential issues of violence emerged, mainly among youth, that Croat and Serb adult community leaders reportedly met to discuss ways to avoid the violence is highly questionable. The Victorian Police Multicultural Advisory Unit records only a handful of official meetings with

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[72] Author interview with Nick Bolkus, 13 March 2002.

[73] Unfortunately, many official electronic documents regarding these high level meetings can no longer be accessed by any of the word processing software currently in use in DIMIA.

[74] Author interview with Kim Carr, 2 March 2002. Serbian Orthodox priest, Hadzi-Popovic revealed that Carr was the sole public official who seemed to understand the Serb perspective and to offer any real encouragement that Serb voices were heard at the federal level.

either Serb or Croat leaders, and federal officials only rarely became directly involved with the community leaders in efforts to diffuse tensions.

Victoria Police spokesman, Savas Augoustakis, could recall only two or three scheduled meetings with Croat and Serb leaders to discuss fears about increasing tensions between the two communities. On no occasion could he recall the two leaderships sitting for a face-to-face meeting and the Multicultural Advisory Unit counseled public officials that such a meeting would, under any circumstances, be unproductive and likely digress to a shouting match.[75]

Ruddock, however, recounts a single exception: a 2001 incident in Melbourne when DIMIA Melbourne staff became involved following an incident at a Saturday language school in the Dandenong suburb. Australian Croat youths allegedly attacked some younger Serbian students. The issue was resolved when one Australian Croat youth was charged by the police and the Education Department and the Victorian Police were persuaded by DIMIA staff to become more aware of the need for pro-active, preventative security measures around the region.[76]

Multiculturalism and Cultural Space

Al Grassby, as Minister of Immigration in the Whitlam Government for the brief period until 1974 (and later as Commissioner for Community Relations), was the first national political leader to articulate a public policy of

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[75] Author telephone interviews with Savas Augoustakis, January-February 2002.
[76] Author interview with Ruddock, 19 March 2002.

"multiculturalism." It was envisaged as part of a new Australian nationalism, which owed less to any Anglo dominance than to a celebration of the continuity of diverse traditions and loyalties, all of them by implication equally legitimate. The bipartisan status of multiculturalism was established when adopted by the government of Malcolm Fraser, which added Ethnic Affairs to the title and functions of the Department of Immigration. The core of Fraser's ethnic policy emerged from the report of a Review of Post-Arrival Programmes and Services for Migrants, known after its chairman as the Galbally Report. Among the programs and policies to emerge from that report, some continuing the Grassby initiatives, were Commonwealth funding of a range of activities such as teaching of English and homeland languages, promotion and preservation of migrant and ethnic communities' cultural forms, and the formation of pan-ethnic councils to both gather input from diverse sources and to help better manage the integration of new migrants.

Whether Australia's official multicultural policy exacerbates or provides a foundation upon which to resolve domestic ethnic conflicts is hotly debated.[77] Theophanous extends the question and suggests that "multiculturalism serves as an instrument to reduce or overcome" inter-ethnic conflicts that originate in overseas troubles through the "enormous power that its central doctrines of tolerance, respect for human rights and commitment to social justice have been

[77] Critics on the left, made suspicious perhaps by its ready acceptability to conservative politicians, claim that multiculturalism is another attempt to obscure fundamental class-based inequalities. Yet conservative critics are even more vocal. Their argument include a claim for the superiors values of Anglo culture, criticism of aspects of the ethnic cultures, warning about the divisiveness which many accompany social pluralism, and so on.

able to exercise" (Theophanous 1995, 195, 209). Some ethnic community leaders publicly agree with Theophanous' thesis. Australia's principal Islamic leader, for instance, suggests that, "Australia is our compassionate mother and I say to every person living in Australia…love this country or leave it; shape up or ship out" (Henderson 2004). These comments, supported in large measure by political officials on either side of the Liberal-Labor party divide, indicate that in the minds of many officials that Australia's official multiculturalism is working. In other words, the existence of an official policy of multiculturalism in Australia appears to mitigate ethnic tension.

But these claims fly in the face of much political theory as summarized in Dahl's exposition about the political necessity for common, not diverse, perspectives in building liberal communities:

> It is reasonable to suppose, then, that the prospects for polyarchy are greatly reduced if the fundamental beliefs and identities among the people of a country produce political conflicts and are correspondingly increased if beliefs and identities are compatible and therefore not a source of conflict. Thus as the strength and distinctiveness of a country's subcultures increase, the chances for polyarchy should decline. Subcultures are typically formed around ethnic, religious, racial, linguistic, or regional differences and shared historical experience or ancestral myths…The stronger and more distinctive a subculture, the more its members identify and interact with one another, and the less they identify and interact with nonmembers…Thus when members of one subculture come to believe that their common life is seriously endangered by the actions of plans of others, their situation is not unlike that of people in a country whose existence is threatened by a foreign power. Like people in such a country, members of a subculture will strongly oppose any settlement on terms that fail to ensure the preservation of their subculture heritage. If their opponents also constitute a separate subculture whose members feel equally threatened by their opponent sin the other subculture, then the conflict is certain to be even more explosive (Dahl 1990, 254-255).

The 1977 landmark report on Australian multiculturalism did indeed advise that if a policy of multiculturalism was to add to national unity and social cohesion the right to express and share cultural identity must accompany responsibilities to do so within the rule of law and a with a primary commitment to Australian national interests and fellow Australians. But Jerzy Zubrzycki, the architect of official multiculturalism in Australia who advised the Fraser government to adopt the policy in the 1970s, publicly worried about the direction it was taking in 1994:

> Loyalty to Australian core values comes first—any differences can be resolved within that framework and that is the framework of the rule of law. What people are doing now is outside the rule of law… We must remember that loyalty to Australian core values comes first, ethnic rights come second and the two can quite sensibly co-exist… Regrettably this tension between these two opposing drives is being stirred by irresponsible politicians…who are seeking temporary electoral advantage by appealing to divisiveness.[78]

While Australian multicultural policy codifies liberal principles and in theory cannot respect any element of a culture that contains within it notions of racial or ethnic superiority, the reality is that some ethnic and migrant communities utilize the political space generated by the policy to defend ethnocentric distinctions and historical enmities, and to perpetuate these attitudes to their posterity. For the most part, Australian Croat and Australian Serb leaders view official multiculturalism as a benefit that has allowed them to more fully concentrate on homeland affairs and to maintain homeland identities. They do not deny that a homeland fixation may be locally divisive and impede the

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[78] See multiple articles about the future of multiculturalism and the comments of Zubrzycki in *The Australian*, 19 March 1994.

development of a strong Australian national identity, nor that homeland ethnic affinities are often ranked before allegiance with fellow Australians.

For many Croats and Serbs living in Australia, the recurring motifs of Australian life—sun, beer and sport—do not necessarily connect with their migrant experience. Nor do the myths and legends of outback Australia have the same resonance. Notions of mateship and egalitarianism do resonate more universally, but they are not enough to drive home a feeling of being Australian.

For example, every second-generation Australian Croats and Australian Serbs I met and spoke with in the course of fieldwork had an Australian accent and many had degrees from Australian universities. Despite having plenty of postive things to say about Australia as a country and affirming a sense of gratitude for the opportunities they were given, many of the "youth" felt they could never be accepted as an Australian, that they would remain on the cultural fringes. A leader of the Croatian Students Association expressed the sentiment this way:

> I was born in Australia, so that's a given. But Croatia is in here (hand over heart) and that is where my loyalty is. You know, it's always Croats versus Serbs, or wogs versus Aussies. I probably live more like Serbs or Greeks or Italians here, but I don't feel for them what I feel for Croatia."[79]

What might such sentiments portend for the future and what do they suggest about the efficacy of multiculturalism to build community and enhance social cohesion across inter-diasporic divisions? The language of Australia's official multiculturalism is corporatism and refers to attempts by the state to

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[79] Author interview, name withheld upon request, 8 December 2001.

employ the moral relationships of society. But, suggests David Brown, under an official policy of multiculturalism, the state

> puts itself into the untenable position of being the target of ethnic discontent, the negotiator of the non-negotiable, and the 'umpire' who is seen by each team as plying for the other side. Far from de-politicizing ethnic issues as intended, the dynamics of corporatism tend to heighten the politicization of ethnic contention. The problem of course is that 'communal cleavages are so potentially explosive that they can probably only be accommodated into the interstices of politics while the politicians ostensibly fight one another over quite different issues. …the state seeks, therefore, to avoid explosion by routinising ethnic politics in corporatist institutions….But the limitation of this strategy is that the deflection of contention on the elites who hold office in the corporatist ethnic institutions weakens their capacity to control their ethnic constituents (Brown 1997, 259).

This description and the experience of Croat-Serb relations in Australia leads to questions about the utility of official multiculturalism. What is its use for managing external conflicts that, nonetheless, have internal repercussions?

Diasporas are ethnic groupings that champion the interests of one ethnic group—their own—and, as Polish exile writer Eva Hoffman explains, "It may often be easier to live in exile with a fantasy of paradise than to suffer the inevitable ambiguities and compromises of cultivating actual, earthly places" (Hoffman 1999, 63). Extremism, moreover, is a greater option when identification with the host country either no longer seems tenable or is simply less desirable. Other ethnicities either fail to appear on their radar screen at all or do so as competitors at best or enemies at worst. When ethnic community leaders perceive multicultural policy to consent to the maintenance of homeland hatreds and ethnic separation, the policy at best is an ineffective policy to contain inter-diasporic conflict. Diaspora politics evades the accountability to constituencies demanded under the Australian official multiculturalism scheme.

In fact, the complex effect of war in the Balkans on Australia's Croat and Serb communities was regularly downplayed and sometimes denied by Australian authorities. In particular, two decades of rhetoric about multicultural "success" blurred the view of Australian authorities and the public to the extent of conflict and its repercussions in the Croat and Serb communities. In a speech welcoming Croatian President Tudjman during his 1995 visit to Australia, for instance, then Prime Minister Paul Keating declared that,

> Australians have been touched by [the war in the Balkans]. We understand the pain the conflict causes citizens of communities with links with parts of the former Yugoslavia. With suffering and horrors which have been deeply felt there, it has been a tribute to those of former Yugoslavian descent to not allow the pressures and tensions of this appalling conflict to spill over into this country (Keating 1995).

Of course, the "pressures and tensions" of the conflict did spill over into Australia and political leaders were aware of these tensions for some time. Speaking elsewhere in 1995, then Foreign Affairs Minister, Gareth Evans, acknowledged that

> the presence in Australia of so many people with strong links with, strong memories of, and strong identification with, various overseas homelands sometimes means that disputes and conflicts in those homelands resonate loudly in Australia" (Evans 1995).

Seven years earlier, then Prime Minister Bob Hawke urged immigrants to forget their prejudices and "act like Australians" following the shooting of a 16-year-old Australian Croat during a rally outside the Yugoslav Consulate in Sydney.[80] Newcomers have a right to demonstrate, added Hawke, but "we do not

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[80] The 27 November 1988 demonstration of an estimated two thousand Australian Croats and the subsequent shooting resulted in a diplomatic row, whereby Australian authorities demanded an

want to see Australia become a battleground in terms of people trying to live out and act out ancient rivalries that might still to some extent bedevil their places of origin" (Hawke 2000).[81] Time and again, Australian public officials failed to acknowledge that ethnic community funding on the public nickel, under the guise of multiculturalism, propped up ethnic rivalries and supported the goals of long-distance nationalists.

THE REAL STORY

Weak and unsuccessful lobbying efforts did not effectively control the emotions of the Australian Croat and Australian Serb communities. And the utility of the policy of multiculturalism, for all the rhetoric, was marginal. How then was tension and violence between rival Croat and Serb communities curbed? Review of the Australian Serb experience provides some clues.

Fear and Loathing

There can be no more acute dilemma for an immigrant group than when its host society goes to war with its homeland. For Australian Serbs in the 1990s,

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explanation for the shooting from the Yugoslav ambassador and temporarily closed the Sydney consulate. Yugoslav officials retaliated and expelled three Australian diplomats from Belgrade.

[81] Prime Minister Hawke's concern echoes, suggests Andrew Jakubowicz, the "fear of ethno-nationalisms re-igniting in Australia marked much of the public rhetoric about White Australia and assimilationism in the years after the Second World War. Governments, the media and the broad popular culture proposed that immigrants should immediately drop previous allegiances and cultural practices…[t]he ethno-nationalisms that emerged in that early post-war period were of two kinds, each a fall-out from the war—one was associated with the establishment of organizations of extreme nationalists from the countries of eastern Europe, the other focused on the development of the Zionist movement and its support for the state of Israel" (Jakubowicz 1994, 23).

Western intervention generally, and Australian participation specifically, on behalf of Croatian and Bosnian goals and in opposition to Belgrade was a time of intense conflict and deep personal anguish. Australian Serbs had to deal with both an unprecedented level of hostility emanating from their host society and the trauma caused by events in the Balkans. The effect of rhetorical attacks in the press and physical attacks by rival Australian Croats was felt throughout the community as a sharp rejection, producing in many a sense of alienation and vulnerability. Individuals born in Australia of Serbian ancestry experienced a crisis of identity and felt under threat from accusations of disloyalty.

For Australian Serbs, two themes ran especially clear. First, they were quick to perceive a threat from the re-emergence of Croat nationalism. More than eighty percent of Australian Serbs come from regions now in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia's Krajina region, where historical enmity ran deepest. It is Serb folk wisdom that every Krajina Serb family lost at least one member at the hands of Croatian Ustashe atrocities in the 1940s. These anxieties were refreshed by television images and new reports from Europe in the 1990s. One Melbourne professional of Serb origin recapitulated the distress, "Not all Croats were Ustashe, but all Ustashe were Croats," and proceeded to explain that the Australian Croat community was rife with Nazi sympathizers.[82]

Another younger generation Serb expressed his fear of a resurgent Croat nationalism thus:

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[82] Author phone interview with Angela Wallace-Smith, 6 February 2002.

> Everything our parents taught was coming to pass. I mean, we watched TV constantly, trying to get a little news from home. And it was all bad, and the Croats were killing us in Krajina and somehow we were the problem. We fought on the right side, with Australia and America in World War Two, so it was really hard on the older generation to think the Croats could get away with it.[83]

Still another second generation Australian Serb described his initial reaction to fighting in the Krajina region and its effect in the Australian Serb community in this way:

> We wanted to get the Croat bastards, really hurt them because all the "oldies" recognized the fascist symbols and were scared. You know, at the Dom in Footscray, [Croats] have pictures of the war criminal Pavli_ right on the wall… When it all blew up my friends all talked about growing beards and we wore Chetnik hats… One friend didn't think Tito was such a "baddie," but when he saw it all on TV, he said, "your dad was right all along."[84]

The second theme was a condemnation of the role of the international community and the perceived bias of the Australian government. Australian Serbs were depressed by Australian policy in the Balkans, and perceived widespread harassment in Australia. Indeed, some Australian Serbs saw a link between the two. Most Serb interviewees thought that the Hawke and Keating Governments bent over backwards to appease the Croats and support their secessionist demands. This was asserted by even the most moderate Australian Serb voices:

> The Serbian community was totally unorganized. And the Croats had a number of lobbyists and the active support of an energized and focused

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[83] Author interview with Peter Marjanovic, 5 February 2002

[84] Author interview, name withheld upon request, 5 February 2002. The Australian Croat club, known as The Dom (Our Home) in Footscray does have an inscription on its façade bearing the name of Ante Paveli_ and there are pictures and portraits of the accused war criminal on the walls inside. The Australian Government finances the center annually though the multicultural grant scheme.

> diaspora. Australian officials were taken in by the images of freedom-fighters and didn't seem to question the problem with their backgrounds.[85]

The SNF also repeated time and again that their complaint was not with the Croatians who live in Australia, but with the Australian Government, which to their understanding created a potentially explosive situation time and again through ignorance and divisive politics: "They even invited Dr. Tudjman to visit Melbourne" reminds SNF executive, Glisic, "How could they think this would not cause problems?"[86]

Australian Serbs, not unlike earlier generations of nationalist Australian Croats, felt that Serbs and Serbia were consistently and systematically misrepresented in the media coverage of the conflict. Many in the Serb community felt that the media failed to provide balanced coverage of events and issues related to the Balkans; and that in some cases this constant bias actively contributed to stereotypes of Serbs. Regular contrasts were made between the blanket coverage of Serbian atrocities and the lack of attention given to Serbian refugees, especially the mass expulsion of the Krajina Serbs in 1995. Some Australian Serbs report that they only watched Yugoslav television, which began broadcasting to the diaspora by satellite in 1991, to counterbalance the Australian media. And on several occasions, Australian Serbs held demonstrations in Canberra and Melbourne to protest the Special Broadcast Service (SBS) coverage

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[85] Author interview with Monash University professor, Slbodanka Vladiv-Glover, 26 February 2002.
[86] Author interview with Glisic, 3-5 March 2002.

of the Yugoslav war and voice concern about the spread of homeland violence to Australia's communities.

But most Australian Serbs felt simply powerless and alienated in the face of Australian government sanctions imposed on Serbia and negative Australian press coverage of Serbian actions in the Balkans:

> What Serbians just could not accept was the misinformation that was being widely spread. The message not getting across was that Serbs were being slaughtered. The Australian Government and the media were among those that accepted the rumor that there were Serbian regular soldiers fighting in Bosnia when the fighting was really being carried out by Serbian-Bosnians who were once in the national army. But what could we do, no one was listening to us at that point.[87]

The Western and Australian media vilification of the Serbs in the Balkans corresponded with the perception within the Australian Serb community that they became an easy domestic target for whom the usual rules of political correctness did not apply. People making the physical attacks on Serbs were rarely identified or charged. And recourse, especially to Federal officials, provided little assistance.

Related to this was the experience of most Australian Serbs of occasional remarks by friends, work colleagues, classmates, or simply people they had given their name to, along the line of "What's up with you Yugos?" or "Bloody Serbs, un-Australian, and up to no good." Many Australian Serbs assumed a collective responsibility for Serbian action in the Balkans and felt that they had to readily accept abuse for, and regularly respond on behalf of, homeland kin. One Australian Serb respondent scoffs, "Australian people, even my parents'

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[87] Author interview with Glisic, ibid.

neighbors, sometimes remarked that they were surprised to learn that we were Serbian, because we seemed pleasant."[88]

Cooperation, or Agreeing to Disagree

Fear and contention were rife in the Australian Serb community, especially when reports of vandalism and assault at schools, churches, and community centers increased from 1991-1993. By mid-year 1993, suggests Glisic, the Serbs had almost reached their breaking point. By his perception, Australian Serbs had borne the brunt of attacks by Australian Croats, including repeated fire bombings of churches and attacks on a churches and clergy:

> We were pretty sure about who was doing what, but we couldn't just accuse people. And the attacks were in line with rising hostilities in Yugoslavia. We made of point of telling the youth not to respond to any of the attacks, but many people were getting desperate."[89]

In response to claims of Australian Serb victimhood, Croatian leader Tom Beram also voiced fears about "well-organized attacks by [Australian] Serbs," and that,

> a tipping point is fast approaching and that there is going to be a tragedy. There is talk in our community that we have to organize protection for our community. If this is going to happen time after time, we have no other way than to retaliate.[90]

These charges and counter-charges raised the attention of ASIO Chief, David Sadleir, who publicly cautioned against complacency about Croat and Serb

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88 Author interview with Peter Marjanovic, 5 February 2002.

89 Author interview with Glisic, 3-5 March 2002.

90 This response and additional exchanges of threats and fears are reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 April, 1993, p.3-4.

"terrorism" in Australia and the Victorian Police Protective Security Group was placed on alert in case violence flared in Melbourne on the eve of American and British strikes against Serbian forces in Bosnia.[91] In the end, the tensions between the communities in Australia were much less than might have been expected given the destructive passions roused in the homeland region. Why did the relationship develop in this way rather than drawing the two communities into even more violent confrontation?

Internal Controls: Self-Policing

Ignorance of, and frustration with, the Australian political system coupled with a lack of access to policymakers conceivably could be partially responsible for increased levels of conflict between the rival diasporic communities. The fact that both Croats and Serbs perceived that they had little or no "voice" in the foreign policy process explains the pursuit of interests and venting of community concerns outside the institutional and organizational frameworks established by the state, using means such as marches, demonstrations, and at the fringes of the communities, violence to express their pain and anger.

But features of the Australian system also had a positive, if indirect, influence on the containment of Croat and Serb contention. Australia's liberal political values and the right to legally voice even unpopular views allowed the Croat and Serb leaderships to manage tempers and tensions. The leaderships of

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[91] See *The Age*, 22 April 1993, for coverage of attacks against Serb forces and the possible repercussions in Australia.

communities were most interested in favorable reputations with mainstream Australia and preached restraint in speech and deed to community members. To this end, community leaders regularly used public forums to channel the passions of community members.

Serb demonstrations in Melbourne and Sydney were organized by the SNF and the SNDC for the express purpose of allowing rank-and-file community members to "blow off steam," while phone chains or call lists were used to restrain responses to vandalism and threats, and to engender solidarity.[92] Australian Serb leaders, and the Serbian Orthodox Church, in particular, worked overtime to control extremist views from spilling-over into more extensive violence.[93]

Serb leadership acknowledged that there was some limited work done by (mainly local) government people to help bring calm, but government efforts were not highly regarded by the Serb community. Instead, suggests Glisic, Serb leaders throughout the country appealed for peace and restraint:

> There are all sorts of instances…that have taken place. What we are trying to do is play that sort of thing down because there are elements in both communities who are doing stupid things. We are not in a position to start retaliating . . . we would address that sort of matter through the police.[94]

The efforts of Australian Croat leaders mirrored the self-policing of the Australian Serb community. Though ineffective as a lobbying tool, Australian Croat letter-writing campaigns "kept people's hands busy" and "expended energy

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92 Author interviews with Glisic, 3-5 March 2002 and Marjanovic, 5 February 2002.

93 Author interview with Hadzi-Popovic, 12 February 2002.

94 Author interview with Glisic, op cit.

that could have boiled over."[95] While the real battles were thus fought by surrogates thousands of miles away, Australia's Serbs and Croats necessarily and routinely considered the reactions of their host country—especially the Australian government and broader Australian society in order to gain support or lessen opposition.

Internal Controls: Self-Segregation

Moreover, Croats and Serbs in Australia were allowed to voice their concerns and interests without direct involvement with each other. No party was forced to come to the table. Neither conferences nor "peace talks" were scheduled by Australian officials to conclusively solve the problem of inter-diasporic conflicts. Separation, suggests Yuval Elizur with regard to Palestinian and Israeli segregation, provides breathing space to both sides—which should make former sticking points easier to resolve (Elizur 2003). In fact, Serbs and Croats in Australia also went to great lengths to avoid each other and to find much need space to vent. This desire for physical distance is understandable in communities which have experienced high levels of violence. Obviously, the principal advantage of segregation is the reduction of inter-community violence. But what this means for Australian society is unclear. Two exceptionally tense diaspora communities effectively reduced the level of local violence, not through conference or compromise, but by turning their backs to each other.

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[95] Author interviews with Ilija Sutalo, op cit., and Starcevik, op cit.

What is clear is that ethno-national political mobilization is inherently rational, predictable, and understandable because it is premised on individual calculations of what is in one's best interest. That is, individuals behave rationally in that they act instrumentally within institutional limits of constraint to gain the most benefit at the least cost. What the Australian Serb and Australian Croat communities did was a response to the actual and anticipated moves of its opponent, and to the anticipated response of Australian officials and the Australian public. Diasporic politics thus may often intensify conflicts by creating a spiral toward unrestrained violence. In this case, however, the same reciprocal process controlled rather than stimulated the spread of violence. This is less the consequence of these two groups' inability to remove the other, as was accomplished in their respective homelands, and more the consequence of the overriding desire among Croat and Serb community elites to improve their position and image in Australian society.

Chapter 5: Self-limiting Conflict in the United States

Richard Clarke, former National Coordinator for Security and Counterterrorism at the White House, describes the alarmed reaction among some high-ranking, Clinton administration policymakers following the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center as fear that war-time events in the Balkan might become an American domestic crisis:

> The large, white telephone console blurted. I had never heard it ring before and wasn't initially sure what the noise was. In the little window on the console a name popped up: "Scowcroft." Brent Scowcroft, the National Security Advisor to the first President Bush, had left the White House the month before, along with almost all of his staff except me and a few other holdovers. How was he calling me now on this highly secure phone? I reached for the handset.
>
> "Did the Serbs do it?" It was Tony. I had no idea what he was talking about. "Did the Serbs bomb it? Was it a bomb?"
>
> "I don't know yet, Tony." I faked it. "We're checking. Let me get back to you as soon as we have something, soon" (Clarke 2004, 73-74).[96]

The suggestion that Serbs—whether American citizens, resident aliens, or foreign nationals, who would necessarily be shielded or aided by Serbian Americans—had anything to do with the bombing was wildly off the mark. But the exchange does reveal at least a tangential awareness and an underlying fear among American policymakers that the United States involvement in the Balkans, and a perceptible White House bias against Serbian interests, raised the ire of

[96] The "Tony" referenced in Clarke's account was Clinton's National Security Advisor, Tony Lake.

American Serbs and underscored the possibility that ethnic conflicts abroad could spill over into American politics in dangerous ways.

Politics, Americans used to tell themselves, ends at the water's edge. But as more scholars and policymakers recognize the ability of American ethnic groups to influence international affairs, especially by affecting United States foreign policy, it is necessary to examine how such influences affect ethnic relations inside the United States. This chapter explores the extent to which Croat and Serb commitment to ancestral countries threatened to "Balkanize" American foreign policy and impeded domestic cohesion during the 1990s. It also reveals how American officials and institutions structured Croat-Serb relations to curb the more contentious and violent byproducts of long-distance nationalism.

The chapter provides a necessary point of comparison for understanding inter-diasporic conflicts and the effects of long-distance nationalism. Both host country cases indicate how Croat and Serb ethno-national loyalties to real or symbolic homelands affect domestic inter-ethnic relations. The comparison thus reveals how similar countries subject to the same stresses differ or converge and, therefore, might teach something about cause and effect (see Gourevitch 1986).

As in the Australian case the key questions are:

- To what extent and how do events abroad either enhance or impede constructive inter-ethnic relations?
- What institutions, strategies or activities by policymakers in the United Sates were adopted in order to channel Croat and Serb community relations in non-confrontational directions?

- Did ethnic community leaderships help or hinder these efforts by American policymakers?

THE NEW AMERICAN CONTEXT FOR ETHNO-NATIONAL PROMOTION

As discussed in Chapters 1-2, the large and growing presence of self-conscious ethnic groups in the United States is an important issue for many scholars and observers of American politics. Much of the debate in recent decades has focused on ethnic strategies in electioneering, the limits of diversity and threats of disloyalty or conflicted identities inherent in the granting of dual citizenships, and the country's capacity to absorb and assimilate diverse peoples.

What characterizes these concerns is a growing acknowledgement that the United States is a multicultural country, not by force of policy, but by organic evolution; and anxiety that new emphasis on diverse and sometimes divergent ethno-national or ethno-cultural values undermine a fragile, shared American identity (see Glazer 1997, Huntington 2004, Schlesinger 1992). Since the United States is a nation of immigrants, but also characterized by protectionist and at times even nativist concerns, migrants' and ethnic community leaders' motives and the influence are regularly questioned.[97]

With the recognition of the reality of multiculturalism and the growing presence of the United States around the globe during, and more so following the

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[97] Former United States president, Bill Clinton, ironically referred to immigration restrictionist as "un-American" and asked fellow citizens to join with him to warmly greet newcomers who are "the most innovative and most industrious people" in a 1998 speech. See the Clinton quote in John Harris, "Clinton Assails State Restrictions on Immigrants as Un-American," *International Herald Tribune*, 15 June 1998

Cold War, it also makes sense that cultural developments in United States domestic politics now affect foreign policy and have real consequences for international conflicts (Ambrosio 2002; Shain 1999). This means that United States-based diaspora communities' role in American foreign policy and homeland affairs will likely have significant consequences for United States domestic affairs.

On this issue, suggests Shain, champions and critics range from those who maintain that ethnicity in foreign affairs confuses the real U.S. national interest, creates sub-national loyalties, and opens the door for outsider influences, including foreign states, to dictate American policies, to those who consider the phenomenon to be in the true spirit of American history and liberal democratic values (Shain 1999). He comes down squarely on the latter side, and further suggests that:

> The diasporic mobilization on homeland-related affairs, which takes place mostly through "official channels" of U.S. foreign policy—that is, the electoral system and the lobbying of decision makers—has the potential to direct ethno diasporian energies in ways that are conducive both to assimilation or reinforcement of basic American values, such as freedom and pluralism, and to overall diasporic integration into American society. The successful struggle for a legitimate foreign-policy voice is a process that relieves ethnic alienation by helping to create a more positive view of the American inclusionary process and of America's absorptive capacities. Empowerment, in turn, generates new responsibilities, which come with the shedding of outsider status, involving diasporic integration into established practices and institutions (Shain 1999, 199).

Shain does acknowledge that small numbers of diaspora members from the United States have been involved in illegal, underground, or clandestine diaspora activities by providing illicit arms or funds, or even warm bodies and trigger fingers for several militant groups abroad, including the Provisional Irish

Republican Army in Northern Ireland, Sikh separatists in India, Arab terrorist organizations such as Hamas in Palestine, the Jewish extremist Kahane movement, and, importantly for this project, Croat militias. He downplays, however, the extent to which these individuals and groups, and their conflicts abroad may spill over into the domestic American arena. Whether this is actually the case is, of course, an empirical question.

Institutional Channeling American Style

American immigrants are no longer required to be "Americanized" by exchanging their primary identity or sole allegiance from their homeland-acquired ethnicity, first language, or country and state of origin. Since they are less and less inhibited by charges of disloyalty, ethnic community leaders and their constituencies in the United States are more inclined to reconstitute or strengthen their ties with their ancestral countries. In fact, many ethnic elites have discovered that, by focusing on political causes in their countries of origin, they are better positioned to mobilize their communities for domestic empowerment in the United States (see Ahrari 1987).

Homeland oriented, ethnic politics were once viewed as perilous. Louis Gerson, for example, described diaspora politics in the 1950s and 1960s as an "emotional umbilical cord" and warned that a multinational state, such as the United States, open to foreign-based ethnic politicking would not and could never be fully united (Gerson 1964, 235). But the traditional melting-pot concept that stressed assimilation into, and conformity with, a Protestant Anglo-Saxon culture

has given way to the pluralist creed and recognition of diversity as an integral component of American life.

The United States, like Australia, is not a free haven for all kinds of activities, and American tolerance and attentiveness to diasporas' information campaigns spans from ignoring them altogether, actively lending support for diasporic causes, to seeking out diverse American diaspora communities to help facilitate relations between the United States and homeland states. Banning or otherwise outlawing ethnic community information blitzes, public relations stunts, or lobbying campaigns, however, is not deemed an acceptable "American" option and is now widely viewed as incongruent with American liberal values.

This new tolerance is not without problems. There are, of course, numerous instances of diaspora politics driving ethnic rivalries inside the United States, which may prove Huntington's contention that the persistence of "kin-country" loyalties run much deeper than traditional American assimilationists and contemporary multiculturalists are willing to admit (Huntington 1996; 2004). Smith usefully sums up the challenge to synthesize both perspectives in the United States and other migrant receiving liberal democracies as follows:

> On some occasions ethnic hatred set nation against nation; on others it sparked furious internal conflicts as tribal passions were released in ways that led to race murder. Democratic states, with their ingrained tolerance of social diversity, were considerably better that other types of political regimes at containing, indeed at overcoming in a way that strengthened their cosmopolitan character, the fear and loathing that ethnic difference can inspire. Yet there were also serious challenges within the democracies themselves from those who would exploit these primordial feelings to destructive ends. And who can pretend that we are now past the worst, that somehow we have figured out how to deal with the deep-set tensions of making one people out of many in a way that respects difference, in fact that prizes the benefits of diversity" (Smith 2000, 131)?

Ethnic group involvement in United States foreign policymaking, and ethnic rivalry regarding the appropriate direction of that policy, is controversial, yet pervasive and regular. Relative to other democracies, Smith continues, the American state is porous, "lacking in autonomy", and hence, "highly penetrated by interest groups that are capable of making their agenda that of the government" (Smith 2000, 101).

But, in general, diaspora politics are recognized as legitimate political practices licensed, if not expressly encouraged, by the nature of the American party system and the power of each congressional representative. Moreover, ethnic lobbying in the United States continues to exemplify an important tenet of American democracy: namely, those who are able to organize themselves into effective pressure groups are able to influence decision making and policy.

The question is whether long-distance nationalism and diaspora politics introduce additional and problematic wrinkles for American policymakers charged with the management of diverse, sometimes rival ethnic community interests. A system and political culture that allows for, or encourages, diverse ethno-national voices regarding the formation and articulation of United States foreign policy may also provide fertile, new ground for planting seeds of conflict between rival ethnic communities. Can the liberty and capacity to mobilize and lobby in support of diaspora interests with regard to United States foreign policy—even the opportunity to successfully "capture" policy toward homelands—have a positive effect on inter-ethnic or inter-diasporic rivalries in the United States?

CROATS AND SERBS ENGAGE THE AMERICAN SYSTEM

The concept of institutional channeling (see chapters 1-2) suggests that immigrants' forms of political participation relate to the specific political opportunities which immigrants face. The more inclusive the political system is, the more the activities are channeled into that system and shaped accordingly, rather than taking place outside the system in more confrontational forms (see Ireland 1994; Soysal 1994).

Broadly speaking, Croats and Serbs in the United States tried to influence outcomes in their homelands in two ways: directly and indirectly. Direct influence came through giving economic, political, or even military support to ethnic or political counterparts in the homeland. Some American Croats and American Serbs went to their homelands to vote when possible and allowed. Many other Croats and Serbs never left the United States, but voted in absentia on various peace initiatives during the war from 1991-1996 and in homeland elections afterward. Other Croat and Serb cultural and political organizations collected funds among their supporters for political counterparts in the homelands. American Croats in Chicago, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis, for example, sent regular shipments of clothing, flour, rice, canned goods, toiletries, non-prescription medicines, and baby food and formula to needy ethnic kin during the war. Newspaper reports suggest that some individuals and families donated as much as $100,000 for supplies.[98]

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98 See "Croatians Here Ship Food, Medicine to Yugoslavia," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 25 November 1991, Five Star edition.

Not all of the diaspora mobilization was for humanitarian and educational purposes. A few Croat and Serb organizations in the 1990s were known to recruit guerrilla fighters for the war, just as occurred in Australia.[99] And funds were shuttled to the homeland to support military endeavors. In mid-August 1991, for example, United States Customs arrested four Croat members of a nationalist, Chicago-based group who illegally attempted to by more than $12 million worth of American made weapons for export to Croatia.[100]

On occasion, these homeland "deposits" brought real access and "returns" for the American-based diasporas. For example, Zagreb rewarded American Croats with rhetorical praise and, eventually, with increased political access. In 1996, capital-poor Croatia opened at considerable expense a plush consulate in Chicago to serve the many thousands of nationally loyal Croatians living in the area. Croatia also managed to staff a small Cleveland consulate, working out of the American-Croatian Lodge, as reward for local support shown during the war in the former Yugoslavia.[101]

But a large part of the homeland political work of Croat and Serb organizations played itself out in the United States, as the communities tried to influence politics in the Balkans indirectly though discussions and information campaigns aimed at the American public and policymakers. As in Australia, the United States context in the 1990s was rife with opportunities for local Croat and

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[99] Author interview with Anthony Peraica, President, Croatian-American Association, 8 November 2002.

[100] For a thorough review of the level and effect of Balkan smuggling during the 1990s, see Marko Hajdinjak (2002)

[101] Author interview with Peraica, 8 November 2002.

Serb organizers to mobilize their communities around homeland disputes. Such information campaigns ranged from low cost fly-posting at night, to letter writing drives, to targeted lobbying of key policymakers in the United States House of Representatives and Senate.

Political institutions in the United States also influenced domestic Croat-Serb relations and conflicts both indirectly—by providing a particular context that shaped the expression of tensions; and directly—by encouraging attempts at intervention by public officials and cooperation among public officials and ethnic community leaders as the latent tensions transformed into clear conflicts of interest and competition in the 1990s.

The United States' competitive policymaking process and culture of openness to ethnic lobbying profits the well organized and the well behaved, and worked to shape and control the develop of relations between Croats and Serbs. Indeed, from the beginning of tensions in 1991, through the climatic events of the Dayton Accords that officially ended the homeland fighting, the ever-present flurry of community organizing and lobbying campaigns by community elites lent Croat-Serb conflicts in the United States the distinct characteristic of active, systematic engagement with public officials.

Angry voices and raucous demonstrations filled the streets and ethnic community social halls of Chicago, Cleveland, and Pittsburgh on occasion from 1991-1996. But unlike in Australia, violent threats, counter-threats, and dire predictions about bloodshed by Croat and Serb community elites never became the regular currency of Croat-Serb conflict in the United States. Given liberal access to policymakers, Croats and Serbs expressed their rival interests more

regularly as protest against, or petition for, current United States policy toward events and parties in the former Yugoslavia.[102] Only rarely were Croat-Serb conflicts manifested as direct confrontation with the rival ethno-national community, and reports of violence hardly ever provoked broad community mobilization or generated bullying or threats of retaliation. Instead, the leadership of both the Croat and Serb communities sought other outlets for tension.

This personal politics—the management of conflict by individuals—played more than a background role in curbing violent conflict. Throughout the period under study, local and national public officials in the United States invited Croat and Serb community representatives to tell their stories, share information, make their case for particular options, and let it be known that petitioning and lobbying representatives, even with regard to foreign policy issues, was acceptable. Examining the ways these players inter-acted makes for more than an interesting story. When compared with the experiences of ethnic kin and policymakers in Australia, it also suggests avenues for theory-building and policy prescription.

Early Diffusion of Discontent to the United States

The first significant wave of Serbs arrived in Chicago during the First World War era, settling on the South Side and working in the steel mills,

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[102] Author interviews with Peraica, 8 November 2002 and with Slavko Panovic, President, Serbian National Defense Council of America, 7 November 2002.

alongside an earlier generation of Croatian migrants.[103] It was not uncommon to find a Serbian Orthodox church on one corner and a Roman Catholic Croatian church on the next. These pre-Second World War Croat and Serb communities tended to include simple, working class immigrants who had little homeland political interest and who were most concerned with blending in, and contributing to, their adopted country. The two groups were far from home in a strange land. They spoke the same language—even though they wrote it with different alphabets—they enjoyed the same food and music. They generally could put aside their differences, live together and even intermarry. Similar to the changes in the Croat and Serb communities in Australia, the experience of the Second World War affected inter-ethnic relations. In Chicago, Serbs and Croats stopped speaking to each other.

The War refugees from the former Yugoslavia included the Balkans' disinherited bourgeoisie. They were often educated, urban, royally connected, and members of the banned Chetnik and Ustashe political movements. Filled with

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[103] Serbs are not a large part of the United States population. In fact, they are not among the top 25 most populous ethnic groups Serbs were identified as the 75th largest ethnic group in 1990. There were roughly 117,000 Americans of Serbian ancestry nationwide, according to the 1990 census, with the largest concentrations in Illinois and Pennsylvania. As with the Australian census, determination of accurate figures for Serbs and Croats is problematic. The 1990 Census lists categories for Yugoslavs, Serbs and Croats. The Croats were by far the largest group, outnumbering Serbs and Yugoslavs combined nationally and statewide, though many Serbs may have described themselves as Yugoslavians, or even Croatians due to place of birth. Figures for Illinois show 15,503 Serbians, 19,145 Yugoslavians and 61,284 Croats. Chicago may have the largest Serbian community in the United States—home to about 250,000 people of Serbian descent. In all cases, local ethnic community leaders estimate their numbers are much higher, e.g., Ivana Duric (2001) records that there are approximately 1-2.5 million diasporic Croats in North America.

rancor and regret, they created insular micro-societies in the United States, and other host countries, in the 1950s and 1960s and lived, as one scholar puts it,

> [i]n disoriented time-warped worlds, their present overdetermined by their past. Like a stagnant swamp, these communities bred infectious cultures of paranoia, hatred, and far-fetched theories of conspiracy. The inhabitants remained wedded to the brittle nationalist ideologies that, as young men, they had been prepared to die for in the trenches (Hockenos 2003, 10).

Each newly nationalized diaspora community, much as their kin in Australia and in other host countries, was strongly opposed to Tito's Yugoslavia and staunchly anti-communist. But the reality of a common enemy did not make them friends. Instead, both the American Croat and American Serb communities turned inward-looking and engaged in the same sorts of intra-community competition that plagued their ethnic kin in Australia. In the Serb diaspora in the United States, royalist organizations dreamed of restoring the Serbian monarchy. These more extreme groups and movements elbowed aside the established benevolent societies and cultural clubs of the old-timer immigrants.[104]

Among diasporic Croats, groups like the Croatian Liberation Movement and the Croatian National Resistance kindled fantasies of a resurgent neo-fascist state. These organizations were very much in favor of Croatian secession from Yugoslavia, a sentiment expressed well by N. Bilandzich in a letter to editor of a North American Croatian newspaper:

> …Those elements in Yugoslavia which are at present in control must understand that the Croatian people will never give up their rights to

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[104] For example, prior to the war, the Serb American community had little tradition of political organization. Sources of community groups like the Serbian Benevolent Society and the Serbian National Federation had established chapters in Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Los Angeles, and Chicago, but their focus was predominantly religious or cultural.

> liberty, justice and self-determination. We want freedom and independence, and for this we do not owe an apology to anyone. In today's Croatia, foreign elements can sing and hoist their flags, but if the Croatian people do the same, they are declared an enemy of the state and placed in jail. Mr. Editor, we Croatians are slaves in our own homeland. If you examine our historical past, I am sure that you will be able to conclude that we Croatians have done so much to advance the cause of Slavism and Yugoslavism, which has brought us nothing more than oppression and misery. For this reason, I am and always well be for Croatian independence and liberty.[105]

American Croats: Overcoming Shame

American Croats had a tough row to hoe. In the decades following World War II, emigration from Croatia to the United States increased. Internal economic and political pressure under the communist Yugoslav federation led many Croats to seek economic and political freedom abroad. And the demise of the United States Immigration quota system in 1965 fostered even more migration. But the legacy of the Ustashe created a stigma that American Croats, not unlike their Australian counterparts, felt they were forced to combat at every turn throughout the Cold war years. This stain, suggests the president of the Croatian-American Association, Anthony Peraica, meant that "it became an early and common goal of almost all the Croatian émigré groups to polish that image by becoming good Americans, getting involved in local events and politics, and sports leagues."[106]

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105 "Letter to the Editor," *Fraternalist*, 9 January 1985, p. 2.

106 Author interview with Peraica, op cit.

"Only Unity Saves a Serb!"[107]

With the establishment of communist rule in Yugoslavia, the American Serb diaspora also came to be treated as a "hostile force" by the homeland. The following decades saw subsequent waves of emigration, first sparked by political motives, and later shifting more towards socio-economic grounds. These émigrés often struggled with conflicted identities that threatened to fracture the diaspora community in the United States. Particularly damaging for diaspora unity was an internal split between Chicago's WWII Serbs and anti-Communist political refugees at odds with both older generations and later arrivals of Serbs who had accepted communism but left the former Yugoslavia as economic refugees. The split was so deep it extended into the churches, which on more than one occasion had to go to court to settle which faction controlled which property.

During the Cold War, royalist émigrés in organizations like the Serbian National Defense Council (SNDC) worked to keep alive the vision of an independent and greater Serbia. The obvious obstacle to a Chetnik revival was Tito who, American Serbs charge, was a murderer bent on keeping Serbia and Serbs humbled and weak. Occasionally, an extreme fringe of the American Serb diaspora would engage in open contention with the Yugoslav state.

In fact, in 1975 a SNDC member bombed the home of the Yugoslav consul in Chicago. The perpetrator was apprehended in 1979, but in a dramatic effort worthy of Hollywood, he managed to free himself and hi-jack his American

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107 "Only unity saves a Serb!" is a slogan used during the political demonstrations at the beginning of the latest round of wars in the Balkans, but the phrase dates back to 1389 and the Battle of Kosovo.

Airlines flight to Chicago were he was to receive his sentence. From there he redirected the plane to New York, and finally across that Atlantic and on to Ireland. His plan, before being talked down by his lawyer, was to crash the jet into Tito's headquarters in Belgrade.

The United States' cautious friendship with Tito infuriated both the Serb and Croat émigré communities, which tried to thwart and sabotage relations at every opportunity. Among their few accomplishments during the Cold War was the American Serb and American Croat diasporas' role in ending the long and illustrious diplomatic career of George Kennan (see Hockenos 2003). Appointed by Kennedy as ambassador to Yugoslavia in 1961, Kennan quickly established a solid, working relationship and good personal rapport with Tito, and he promised the Yugoslavian president that special trade conditions and a Most Favored Nations (MFN) commercial status would continue without a hitch. But in 1962, the United States Congress ended the long-standing preferential trade treaty and threatened to rescind MFN. The episode, suggests Kennan in his memoirs, left him looking weak and forced him to step down. Moreover, these Croat and Serb groups, he claims,

> were not slow to wrap their demands, to suit Washington-congressional taste, in the relatively respectable mantle of a militant anti-communism, denying the Yugoslav independence vis-à-vis Moscow, denying the unique qualities of Yugoslavia as a Marxist-Socialist state, and doing all in their power to establish the thesis that Yugoslavia was, to all intents and purposes, not different from the Soviet Union. They were opposed to the maintenance by the United States government of relations with Yugoslavia; they would happily have seen us become involved in a war against that country. This being so, they never failed to oppose any move to better American-Yugoslav relations or to take advantage of any opportunity to make trouble between the two countries. And this they succeeded, with monotonous regularity, in doing (Kennan 1972).

Thus, by this account in the 1970s, American Serbs and American Croats were already players in the formation of United States foreign policy; already adept at lobbying for their diasporic and foreign interests; and already accepted by policymakers eager to appear both tough on foreign ideological foes and happy to oblige good Americans only voicing their concern to their elected representatives.

Political Opportunities and Institutions in the 1990s

Proven political skills and connections came in handy in the 1990s. The Yugoslav civil war received global attention because of its importance to countries with political, cultural, and religious interests in the region: the United States, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Russia, and the Muslim world. The breakup of the Soviet Union in 1989-1990 allowed the United States to emerge as a triumphant leader in the post-Cold War world. As such, the United States was keen to demonstrate its leadership in European political and security matters. Washington aimed to show that a European crisis, such as the Yugoslav conflict, could not be well managed without substantial American advice and United States-led action.

The American public was thus made aware of the Yugoslav civil war through customarily emotional media coverage and impassioned rhetoric by United States officials, European political leaders, self-appointed ethnic activists, and American journalists. As in Australia, American television screens captivated audiences with images of violence and suffering, and the extraordinary attention to the Yugoslav conflict gave the impression to the American public that the war

was being thoroughly investigated and that all perspectives were explored. Yet, as the conflict in the former Yugoslavia intensified, the United States media presented ever more neatly packaged sound bites describing the conflict. The shallow level of understanding of the complexities on the ground led one Serbian commentator to retort that "never before has there been so much talk about Serbs yet so little knowledge about them" (Beckovic 1991).

While activists and pundits publicly debated the costs and benefits of particular United States action in Yugoslavia, behind the bluster and rhetoric another, more structured debate occurred. A "war of words" among ethnic group lobbyists took place in Washington, and also in the mid-American cities where Croat and Serb migrants settled generations earlier. In the initial days of the war, suggested one pro-Serb commentator,

> Washington was a blank slate on which nearly any plausible story could be written. Information about the Yugoslav conflict provided by Muslim and Croat governments in the early days of the war was welcomed by executive branch analysts and members of Congress facing the daily burden of sorting out complex international issues (Sremec 1999, 4).

President Clinton invited both American Croat and American Serb officials to meet with him and selected Cabinet members to explain his position on the war in the Balkan, and to ask the community representatives to do all they could to support peace in the region and at home. The meetings were only partially successful. One Serb leader explained that he "understood that there are many groups in America and that the President can't know about everyone. But

[the Adminstration] didn't know anything. And they didn't ask for advice. They just told us what they were going to do."[108]

The lack of sufficient information and knowledge about Yugoslavia's complexities among high-ranking policymakers made the United States foreign policy making establishment vulnerable to the views of ethnic advocates on all sides. But while the Yugoslav issue was still relatively unknown in 1990-1991, and thus likely the most effective time to apply pressure in Washington, American Serbs were comparatively silent and reacted slowly to the changing dynamics within Yugoslavia and within their host country. SNDC's Slavko Panovic suggests that the American Serb community was caught off guard, unprepared, and stunned by their reversal of fortune:

> During the Communist rule in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe we had many friends in the Senate and the House who shared the same goal: freedom... But when war in Yugoslavia started, even our friends disappeared. The Serbian nation was portrayed as the bad guy. Every day the same story in the papers; they kill, they rob, they rape. There was never any balance. There was never anyone to stand up for the Serbs and to tell other politicians about how the Serbs were also victims.[109]

With the assistance of American Croats, the Tudjman government in Zagreb, on the other hand, hired American public relations firms in 1991 to lobby the United States Congress in support of Croatia's succession aims.[110]

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[108] Author interview with Slavko Panovic, 7 November 2002.

[109] Author interview with Slavko Panovic, ibid.

[110] The primary public relations firm used by Croatia was Ruder Finn, Inc., which would later represent in Washington the Bosnian Serb government in Sarejevo, as well as the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) in their bid for Albanian sovereignty in the Serbian province of Kosovo. Serbian Americans, too, established a "war lobby" though by most accounts Serbs lost the lobby war. See Blitz (1996) for analysis of Serbian and American Serb lobby efforts in the United States and Europe.

Tudjaman's spokeman, Ante Kloinovic also appealed directly to American Croats to express their dissatisfaction with the level of support for the new Croatian state in 1991:

> We ask that you serve as winesses and interpreters in you respective countries.... If you can, in any way, please influence the White House and Official Representatives of the U.S. Government because the People of Europe are waiting to see what the BIG BROTHER has to say.[111]

American Croats responded and initiated numerous written petitions, telephone campaigns, and visits to Washington. Although, the United States did recognize Croatia's independence in early 1992, and assisted in the deployment of United Nations troops, an arms embargo on Croatia remained in place. In 1993, American Croats called for a "united Croatian front," and formed a coherent Croatian lobby, the National Federation of Croatian Americans, which then scheduled annual "Croatian Days on the Hill" celebrations.

But the efficacy of these efforts is also questioned in hindsight by American Croats:

> [T]he question should be asked: How effective is the Croatian diaspora in Washington today? The answer depends on its goals. If the goal is to get together one or twice a year to show official Washington that American Croatians love newly independent Croatia and, as a bonus, experience an emotional charge for doing a patriotic act, the answer is positive. But if the diaspora's goal is to influence U.S. policies toward Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is apparent, the effectiveness of the Croatian diaspora is marginal at best (Cuvalo 1999).

The perception of failure to move United States foreign policy in the direction, or to the ends, desired by either the Serb or Croat diasporas was real

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[111] Another appeal issued by the Croatian government urged American Croats to inform and educate their local, state, and federal officials. See "To Croatians in the USA and Canada," *Fraternalist*, 3 July 1991, p. 14.

and still frustrates community leaders. But the opportunity to meet with policymakers did have a positive effect on the relations between the two rival communities. Evidence of this lesson is provided below.

Contentious Croat-Serb Interaction during the 1990s

The following analysis presents the main dimensions of the interaction between Croats and Serbs. I first describe how Croats and Serbs in the United States engaged in confrontational participation. Some Croats and Serbs used public space in the United States for extremist activities, while others organized demonstrations, mass-meetings, and sit-ins. The next section then describes instances of institutional participation, whereby Croat and Serbs worked with or sometimes even within host country political institutions and organizations.

Extremist and Illegal Activities

Many Americans of Serbian or Croatian descent experienced the war in the former Yugoslavia as other Americans—without significant ties to the Balkans. The "old-timers" whose ancestors arrived in the United States prior to 1945 reacted differently to the Balkan turmoil than the "newcomers" who arrived after 1945, and who suffered through the Second World War and its aftermath.[112]

Yet even among those Croats and Serbs in the United States personally touched by the horrors of the Second World War, very few resorted to extremist

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[112] For more on the intra-community differences in Chicago, see Raymond R. Coffey, "City Offers Peace For Serbs, Croatians," *Chicago Sun-Times*, 8 August 1995.

or illegal activities. This is especially apparent when compared with their counterparts in Australia, where the number of recorded violent and criminal incidents involving the two ethnic communities numbered in the many hundreds.

The war in the Balkans did, however, create a battleground of sorts on the streets of Chicago. There were bomb threats, arson attacks, and bricks thrown through the three plate-glass windows of the Serbian National Defense Council of America in Chicago. As in their war-torn lands, the hatred between the diasporic Croat and Serb factions fractured lives and embittered neighborly relations. The Yugo Inn, a Chicago club dependant on both communities prior to 1991 went out of business soon after the war in the former Yugoslavia began. By 1992, community club soccer matches between Serb and Croat dominated clubs were halted after police were called to intervene between battling fans on several occasions.

In the early and mid-1990s, a few members of both communities in Chicago exchanged threats and perpetrated considerable property damage to community centers and churches. Local officials expressed periodic concern about increased tensions, but otherwise these activities received relatively little attention among the wider American public.

The following list is representative of the nature of inter-diasporic incidents that were cause for concern:

- Swastikas and Ustashe checkerboards painted on a Serbian Orthodox Church in Chicago in 1991.
- Vandalism of a Serbian monastery in Libertyville, Illinois in 1991.
- Fire bombs thrown at a Croat party in San Francisco in 1992.

- An arson attempt at the Serbian National Defense Council in Chicago in 1992.
- Cleveland Police feared violence, but reported no incidents and no arrests, at a Croat social club when the Croatian president visited the club in 1991 and 1992.[113]
- Serbian churches and a community center in Chicago were vandalized and church officials received death threats in 1995, after Chicago's Catholic Cardinal Bernardin likened the situation in the former Yugoslavia to the Holocaust and called the bombing of Serbs "morally justified".[114]
- In August 1995, Chicago police reported vandalism to cars owned by Serbs in the parking lot of a Serbian club and bricks thrown at a Croat social club.[115]
- Cleveland police made public announcements to the effect that a visit by the Croatian minister of the interior, Ivan Jarnjak, to Cleveland's American Croatian Lodge in 1996 might make the site

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[113] See Thomas Ott, "Eastlake Develops Anti-Terrorism Plan". *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland), 20 July 1996, Section B.

[114] Serbian church and community leaders publicly denounced the comparison of Serbs and Nazis as "inappropriate, irresponsible and inflammatory," a "perversion of moral standards," and an "absolute abomination." Following these remarks, rocks marked with the letter "U"—a reference to the Croatian fascist Ustashe army of World War II—were tossed through Serbian Orthodox church windows in northwest Chicago. These incidents prompted Orthodox Church leaders to hold candlelight prayer vigils in front Bernardin's house. See Andrew Herrmann and Jorge Oclander, "Bernardin Supports Bombing By NATO," *Chicago Sun-Times*. 8 September 1995; Jorge Oclander, "Church Leader Here Gets Death Threats," *Chicago Sun-Times*, 11 September 1995; and Andrew Herrmann and Deborah Alexander, "Serbian Orthodox Stake Out Bernardin's Home in Protest," *Chicago Sun-Times*, 15 September 1995.

[115] See "Confrontation Surfacing Here," *Chicago Sun-Times*, 7 August 1995, Late Sports Final Edition.

a “terrorist target” and set the local Croat and Serb communities on edge. No incidents, however, were reported.[116]

A Bloodless Diaspora War?

The one domestic Croat-Serb incident that garnered the most media attention, in addition to Cardinal Bernardin’s comments listed above, resulted in no known violence. Chicago area Croats accused Rod Blagojevich of “dual loyalty” and labeled him a “stooge for Slobodan Milosevic” after he wrote a fundraising letter to his "Dear Brothers and Sisters" in the Serb community and pledged to be their voice in congress. Blagojevich, then a Congressional Representative and after 2003 governor of Illinois, is a first generation American Serb raised in the Serbian Orthodox faith and was active in Serbian community cultural activities as a youth.[117] His fundraising letter stated that “the Serbian-American community needs a voice in Congress." Ante Cuvalo, president of the protesting Croat group, responded that Blagojevich “wishes to become the spokesman for a specific ethnic group” and was “an apologist for the Serbian cause.”[118]

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116 See Thomas Ott, “Eastlake Develops Anti-Terrorism Plan,” *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland), 20 July 1996, Section B.

117 Blagojevich’s Serb roots, personal connections, and political power later proved useful for the release of three captive United States soldiers. At the height of the Balkan conflict, he traveled to Belgrade with Rev. Jesse Jackson to persuade Yugoslav authorities to release the three men. After several days of negotiations and a three-hour meeting between Blagojevich, Jackson and Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevi_, the soldiers were freed. Milosevi_ later stated that the presence and efforts of Serb Americans convinced him to emancipate the Americans.

118 See Steve Neal, “Blagojevich Letter Gets Him Trapped In Ethnic Crossfire,” *Chicago Sun-Times*, 18 August 1995.

Several Croats interviewed in the course of fieldwork suggested that a "spirit of revenge" was constant in the early 1990s and that one day in the future a woman walking down the street would see the face of a rapist or killer from the former Yugoslavia and would shoot him. But no one interviewed in the course of this project could report an actual incident in any way similar to this.

One young American Serb reports that he drove a car with a Serbian bumper sticker, and that on one occasion in the early 1990s he stopped at a light, looked in his rearview mirror, and saw a passenger behind him raise two fingers and a thumb (a sign Serbs use to denote the trinity). The man then used his other hand to slap down the three fingers in what he took to be a show of defiance. The car then followed him until he lost it on side streets.[119] Harassment is where most Croat-Serb inter-action ended.

Instead, both Croats and Serbs report that from the outbreak of violence in 1991, they would gather at their respective social clubs each night to watch news broadcasts beamed by satellite to their local hangouts. They listened anxiously to news commentary about the war, and cheered for the advances of their homeland kin, yelled patriotic slogans whenever they saw video of the checkerboard, red and white Croatian flag or, alternatively, a Serbian white eagle. Some admitted that they also laughed at, and ridiculed, from thousands of miles away, vanquished enemy soldiers shown on video being held at gunpoint by their captors. One young interviewee reports that his parents would return from these gatherings and hug him and his sisters. They also "told us that the Serbs are

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[119] Author interview, name withheld, at the SNDC, 7 November 2002.

nothing but brutal thugs. They massacred members of my family and thousands of my countrymen."[120]

A young, American-born Serb who reports that he now feels more Serbian than American, recalls hearing his father and grandfather cursing over the NATO air sorties of the Serbian positions:

> I was just another American kid and didn't think much about my Serbian origins. But now I see and I feel what it has done to my mother and my father and my grandfather. I can't imagine what it was like over there. And I can't understand how the United States can turn on its old Serbian allies to favor Croatia, they backed the Nazis during World War II.[121]

When asked if he ever felt like he should do something with his rage, such as go to Serbia, or if he ever considered lashing out against Croats down the road or at school, he simply replied, "No." But Croats and Serbs in Chicago did battle each other in another way. All sides in the conflict mounted a heavy public relations war to win United States public sentiment.

In this cause, the United States and United Nations sanctions against Serbia and the Serb nationalists fighting in Bosnia dismayed many American Serbs, who could not, or would not forget that Croatia sided with, and fought alongside, Hitler. Their rather selective, self-aggrandizing visions of the Second World War led many American Serbs in the 1990s to conclude that Serbia and Serbs are, by their very nature, anti-fascist, anti-communist, and pro-Western. Slavko Panovic at the SNDC insists that "the United States and Serbs are natural allies."[122] The unspoken message is, of course, that Croats and Bosnian Muslims

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[120] Author interview, name withheld, at the Croatian-American Association, 8 November 2002.
[121] Author interview, name withheld, at the SNDC, 7 November 2002.
[122] Author interview with Panovic, op cit.

are perhaps naturally or genetically disposed to fascism and are "genocidal peoples" according to Serb propaganda.

Another SNDC executive stated:

> It was very difficult for Serbs to watch the lynch-mob mentality in this country. We felt wounded, we felt betrayed. We were the ones who fought with the United States in World War I and World War II. We protected downed United States airmen when the Croats and Muslims were shooting them down. Now the situation has been reduced to a white hat/black hat mentality. We are cast as aggressors when we believe we are the victims. The atrocities committed by our side were exaggerated and the atrocities committed against [us] were ignored. We got blamed for everything, for things we never did. It's the big lie. Television shows bodies of Serbs and says they are Muslims. Cartoonists show Serbs as barbarians, Serbs as a pigs crawling out from the pit beneath an overturned outhouse. They have satanized and demonized us. Our people felt nothing short of what the Japanese in this country felt during World War II.[123]

When questioned about homeland atrocities committed by Serbs in the 1990s, another American Serb leader responded,

> Look, we were the allies in the First and Second World Wars, any attacks on unarmed civilians, while regrettable, are unavoidable, this is a civil war and these kinds of things, within the context of a civil war, are very, very common. It goes with the territory.[124]

For their part, Chicago's Croat leaders also largely deny any real Croatian responsibility for death and destruction in the former Yugoslavia, but do not see fellow Americans of Serbian descent as the problem:

> Who are the people committing the atrocities? It's not the Croatians. Animosity between the Serbians and the Croatians and Bosnian Muslims spans the generations in my neighborhood, even here in Chicago. I can tell you this, I'd rather die than marry a Serbian woman! But the great thing about America is everyone can do what they want.[125]

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[123] Author interview, name withheld, at the SNDC, 7 November 2002.

[124] Author interview, name withheld, 8 November 2002.

[125] Author interview, name withheld, Croatian Cultural Center of Chicago, 8 November 2002.

CURBING BALKAN NATURES

Given the level of bitterness and animosity between American Croats and American Serbs, how was more intense conflict and violence avoided? What institutions or strategies of American policymakers managed to curb Croat and Serb community relations in non-confrontational directions? The relations between Croats and Serbs in the United States in the 1990s suggest that long-distance nationalism and diaspora politics do, in one sense, "balkanize" multiethnic communities. But this does not necessarily lead to uncontrollable violence, nor to anything approaching a "war on our streets."

Shain contends that domestic peace is supported by policymakers shunning favoritism abroad and by ensuring equal access to foreign policymaking circles for diaspora communities domestically (Shain 1999). But neither equal access nor equal levels of favor were granted in this case. The SNDC and the Serbian Unity Congress gained some weak support for their positions from congressional representatives Helen Delich Bentley and Dan Burton, among others, but in the end "missed the PR boat" (Hockenos 2003, 128). In comparison, the Croats, supported by the Catholic Church and invigorated by lobby campaigns on Capital Hill were more visible.[126]

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[126] For more comprehensive review of the lobbying efforts of both the Croat and Serb communities in Washington see Blitz 1996 and Paul 2002. Croats, too, had access to key lawmakers, including Bob Dole, whose foreign policy adviser, helped train Croats on successful lobbying techniques (See Radielovic Baratta 1999)

Nevertheless, the perception of access and the eligibility to lobby were powerful factors affecting Croat and Serb identities and actions. Both Croat and Serb leaderships "wrote to the White House and to the Congress and asked our communities to write about our history and about how our interest was America's interest."[127] And Ante Cuvalo suggests that local and national politicians did not play much of a role in helping temper Croat passions, but that Croats elites worked hard to remind authorities that Croats in the United States are an "hardworking, self-reliant, and family oriented community" (Cuvalo 1999).

Moreover, the freedom to engage in American foreign policymaking provided American Croats and American Serbs with incentives to strongly identify with the United States and to self-regulate their reactions to one another according to their host country environment. The testimony of the SNDC's president highlights a consciouness attributable to both Croats and Serbs:

> It pained me to see my new homeland bomb my former homeland. Our efforts are to educate about the truth, to gain the support of our friends here in America, and to maintain our culture and Serbian values… We tried to influence the American public and politicians through letters and debates that always encouraged fairness…We never held Croatian Americans responsible and we tried to control the youth who could get a little hot about the issues. We told them if they wanted to fight, we'd buy them the plane ticket, but that they couldn't do that here. Not in America.[128]

This experience is different from that of Croats and Serbs in Australia, where official multiculturalism tended to freeze the fluidity of Croat and Serb identities. American economist, Glenn Loury highlights this difference in his

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[127] Author interview with Panovic, op cit.

[128] Author interview with Panovic, op cit.

discussion of the distinction between Australian official multiculturalism and informal American multiculturalism:

> On a recent trip to Australia, I spent some time with a group of economists and sociologists at the local Bureau of Immigration and Multicultural affairs. They were eager to explain to a visiting American how well their country was managing its immigration policy. They stressed two main goals: to encourage newcomers to seek Australian citizenship, and to promote the ideas of a multicultural identity, so that these newcomers will not feel it necessary to abandon their cultural heritage as the price of adopting a new nation. What struck me about this policy was its seeming incoherence. In what precisely did these analysts imagine Australian national identity to consist? Why would anyone feel loyalty to a country that required so little of him on order to join it (Loury 1995, 80)?

The significance of Loury's statement, confirmed in this study, is that the provision of access to foreign policymakers in the American system seems to come with the expectation or demand that all who choose to lobby should be Americans—undifferentiated in loyalty and commitment from each other. This is not, of course, always the reality, but it is the normative ideal. In the American context, Croat and Serb diaspora elites worked to keep their domestic relations and responses circumscribed within the bounds deemed acceptable by United States policymakers, law enforcement, and the American public. They did this not out of coercion or fear of repercussion and loss of prestige, but because the American institutions and values had become their own.

Chapter 6: Diasporas Forever or "At Home Abroad"?

Jasmin Dizdar's internationally acclaimed film about Balkan refugees abroad, *Beautiful People*, opens on a London bus. Passengers politely ignore one another as people file in and out, until an enormous, disheveled, bearded man climbs aboard. He sits for a moment, then seems to recognize another passenger. He calmly steps over to the man and begins to brutally punch him. The bus driver stops the bus and pulls them apart. The man explains in broken English that he is attacking a fascist, the Nazi who destroyed his Bosnian village. The shocked and perturbed bus driver calms him down with the repeated counsel, "We don't do that here!", and returns to the wheel. A moment passes. The Serb and the Croat glare at each other and the fisticuffs resume. The two are thrown off the bus and end up brawling their way through the city's streets in a scene that changes from tension and drama to crude slapstick. Several excruciating, unfunny minutes later, the pair eventually winds up in the same hospital room, recovering from their wounds, where they continue their hostilities.

The two men are not the film's primary story, but as their feud continues it serves as the film's lasting statement: the relentlessness of Balkan conflicts and its imperviousness to outsiders.[129]

The dramatization of that insight is supported by the research conducted in this study. For Croat and Serb migrants, refugees, and their descendents, the

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[129] Viewers never learn whether the "Nazi" is Serb or Croat, Christian or Muslim. In another telling scene, a nurse picks up slippers worn by the Serb and Croat. After holding them up and inspecting them, she remarks that they are "exactly the same."

1991-1996 war in the former Yugoslavia was a centrifuge that flung their lives into turmoil. The real drama of war and its aftermath were not limited to combatants in Croatia, Serbia, or Bosnia, but were transferred to the day-by-day struggle to live with its losses, scars, displacements and self-knowledge in the overseas Croat and Serb communities.

This study analyzes the Croat and Serb refugee and immigrant experience and its relations to the homeland war; and—similar to *Beautiful People*—it also explores the ways immigrant host societies are touched by the conflict in the former Yugoslavia through the lives of migrants. It provides a snapshot of some of the processes of long-distance nationalism and, notably, the controls of inter-ethnic conflict it may require.

The implications of this research are important given that these challenges are likely to gain greater prominence in the future. For many observers, the tragedy of September 11, 2001, and the unnerving revelations about the breadth of the Al Qaeda organization, brought into stark relief the sinister potential of international networks, transnational undergrounds, and the abuse of democratic orders. Enhanced ability to transgress time and space enable a more immediate and more efficient transmission of nationalism around the globe, which also means the theoretical distinction between local and global politics is increasingly blurred. This research thus has obvious relevance to Canada, New Zealand, Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and other immigration receiving democracies that face similar, in some cases still more enflamed, intra-and inter-diasporic conflicts.

THE PUZZLE REDUX

This study began with a puzzle. When war in the former Yugoslavia became reality in the 1990s, many scholars, journalists, participants, and other interested observers expressed fear, and in some cases, real concern that the character of the fighting and the intensity of the passion on all sides would lead to an international spread of the conflict. Authorities in neighboring countries and in Western and Eastern Europe were particularly disturbed given the catalytic nature of Balkan problems and their capacity to generate animosities and enmity across Europe, and also because many European countries host Croat and Serb communities that looked certain to engage in the homeland war from their relative positions of security in countries not immediately party to the conflict.

For a brief moment, far-flung Croats and Serbs across oceans in the United States and Australia also seemed prepared to participate in the homeland war in whatever capacities they could develop. This diasporic politics led to increased tension and conflict, and sometimes violence, between some members of the Croat and Serb communities in both countries. Host country concerns rose to fears that violence and bloodshed might spill-over into ethnic communities that were raw and suffering from the emotional and psychological turmoil of witnessing the horrific war among ethnic kin.

But while there were some direct clashes, much property damage, and many threats, the inter-ethnic tensions in both Australia and the United States were much less than some, including many within the rival communities, imagined and feared. Moreover, there were significant differences in how these

inter-ethnic relations played out in each host country, and the variation in the roles of Australian and American political authorities and political institutions in channeling Croat-Serb relations in more peaceful directions.

This project thus presents inter-ethnic conflict from an angle rarely taken. Namely, to explain why ethnic violence is often not as severe as expected and to show how inter-ethnic conflicts energized by diaspora politics were managed differently by the United States and Australia. It is useful to return to the initial questions posed in Chapter 1, before reviewing the lessons revealed in these cases:

- How was the feared "war on the streets" averted?
- What effects do host state institutions and policy processes play in exacerbating or mitigating inter-ethnic tensions?
- What strategies and actions, if any, did American and Australian policymakers adopt in order to channel migrant community relations in peaceful directions?
- And how did ethnic elites and political entrepreneurs in the migrant and ethnic communities aid or hinder these efforts by host state policymakers?

Elementary answers to these questions are now apparent. Homeland state policies affect migrant identities and can motivate émigrés and their descendents for many generations. But host state political institutions, despite rumors of their increasing irrelevance, still matter. In fact, the experience of Croats and Serbs in Australia and the United States suggests that even for those who are most attuned to homeland politics, and those who might clearly fall into the category of a

diaspora—those with a sense of displacement, hope of return, and identities distinct from their host society—are greatly influenced by the social and political conditions prevalent in their host country.

The exogenous effects of war and homeland chaos certainly did animate migrants and individuals of Croatian and Serbian descent to mobilize on behalf of homeland interests, but their enthusiasm was curbed and channeled by the local context in which they live. By 1996, even the most agitated Croats and Serbs made local accommodations to modify and diffuse their hostility towards their rivals. Ethnic elites—community newspaper editors, social club presidents, political party representatives, and professionals—expressed a desire for, and worked for, acceptance in the broader Australian and American societies. The confirmation of successful management of inter-ethnic relations in these diaspora contexts has several implications.

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS: DIASPORA POLITICS

Diaspora politics and migrants' transnational networks and practices gnaw at the bone of one of the central and defining issues within political science: the fading dichotomy between domestic and international politics. The research in this study raises important questions about how international phenomena influence domestic ones, especially regarding the effect of catastrophic events, war, political intrigue and change in migrants' homelands on immigrant host societies and cultures.

The efforts of diasporic Croats and Serbs to lobby policymakers in their host countries and to better inform (as they see it) their host societies, taps into the large and still growing theoretical debates about how globalization affects domestic politics and how mobilized ethnic communities increasingly shape foreign policies of multi-ethnic democracies. To the extent that they are successful at altering policy or changing public perceptions, diasporas challenge rigid assumptions about the limits of political communities and cast doubt on the effectiveness of host country public policies that ignore the influences of homeland politics and other exogenous factors on immigrant and ethno-national communities.

One of the underlying goals of this project was to reveal the logic of ethno-nationalist processes and the way they are capable of survival and growth in migrant host country environments. There is no doubt that diaspora politics is often a controversial kind of politics. Long-distance nationalism in host country settings often takes on a life of its own, at least semi-independent from developments in migrants' homelands, but constantly making reference to them. This study reveals that when Croat and Serb migrants and their descendants engage in politics of their homeland, they perceive themselves as both outsiders on the inside of American and Australian politics, and insiders on the outside of Serbian and Croatian politics.

Moreover, the manipulative power of homeland governments and political organizations can be considerable, though the cases reviewed in this study strongly suggest that the capacity to mobilize ethno-national kin abroad is not only far from absolute, but also regularly fails to produce the homeland-desired

effects among émigré communities. Likewise, while diasporic migrants "try to shape the policies of their homeland governments," many engage in negative forms of politics that "act counter to Shain's assertion regarding the promotion of democratic practices in the homeland" (Huntington 2004, 284-285).[130] In other words, diasporic politics presents challenges to both homeland and host country governments and societies, but there are no hard-and-fast rules to help determine the particular direction diasporic mobilization will proceed.

In fact, though the concepts of "diaspora" and of "transnationalism" have been used throughout this study as part of an exploration of the effects of migrant homeland politics on inter-ethnic relations inside host societies, it is important to use these concepts with care in the case of the Croat and Serb communities (see Brubaker 2005). Certainly, the mobilization of first-generation migrants and their descendents has a transnational dimension in the sense that migrants and refugees are informed by events or are in contact with political officials and policy practitioners in the former Yugoslavia.

To the extent that Croats and Serbs in Australia and the United States perceive themselves as exiles with continued interest in their homelands and exclusively preserve identities around those interests, they are diasporas. But it must be emphasized again, that not all Serb or Croats are engaged in transnational politics. A Croat or Serb organization, for example, is not diasporic—or homeland political—by definition, but only so far as it works for interests in the Croat or

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[130] Huntington's question about the efficacy of 'marketing of the American Creed' is a reference to Shain (1999).

Serb homeland. Croat and Serb immigrant politics is a much broader field of study than the focus of this project which is limited to highlighting how homeland engagement and orientation affects ethnic relations in their host countries.

It is difficult to first discern, and then generalize about, effects of long-distance nationalism on inter-ethnic relations in host societies. Migrant and ethnic groups vary by size, historical experience, and nationalist memories, the state of current events in both homelands and host countries, and many other factors. In fact, they do not necessarily share the reality of the long-distance transmission of ethno-nationalism. Given this recognition, Rogers Brubaker usefully suggests that a diaspora not be conceived as a bounded entity or unified group,

> but rather as an idiom, a stance, a claim. We should think of diaspora in the first instance as a category of practice, and only then ask whether, and how, it can fruitfully be used as a category of analysis. As a category of practice, 'diaspora' is used to make claims, to articulate projects, to formulate expectations, to mobilize energies, to appeal to loyalties. It is often a category with a strong normative charge. It does not so much describe the world as seek to remake it (Brubaker 2005, 12).

This study's comparison of Croats and Serbs is true to Brubaker's conception of diaspora. It explores and explains less about who Croats and Serbs are in both Australia and the United States, and more about what some Croats and some Serbs actually do. They are neighboring ethnic groups in their homelands, and migrant Croats and Serbs choose to live in close proximity in their host societies, too. They share historical experiences in the post-Second World War period, yet their self-consciousness as diaspora communities in the past, and in the present, differs considerably. Levels of interest in homeland politics and transnational engagement come and go among Croat and Serb migrant organizations and communities.

For Croats in Australia, the tendencies to engage in homeland politics were strong since the Second World War. For Serbs in Australia, from the late 1940s through the 1980s, there was a tendency to engage towards more immigrant politics with a focus on making something of themselves in Australia than on homeland politics. The 1990s outbreak of violence and war in the former Yugoslavia changed the dynamic for the Serbs in Australia. In the United States, both the Croat and Serb communities settled on a balance of immigrant and homeland politics.

In fact, the communities had become so "American" by the time of the 1991-1996 war that both groups felt at ease engaging in homeland politics through the American political system. In one sense, therefore, Croats and Serbs in the United States were less "diasporic" than their peers in Australia. Activists for homeland causes and the committed diasporic factions of Croats and Serbs in Australia were in, but not of, Australian society. They had less access to political channels and felt more estranged from their host society, while American Croats and American Serbs were comparatively more comfortable thinking of themselves as Americans.

POLICY LESSONS FOR MANAGING CONFLICT

An important lesson of this study is that different host state and society opportunity structures channel diasporic behavior in diverse ways. The experience of Croats and Serbs in Australia and the United States suggests that the mobilization strategies that contentious diasporic communities employed to

advance their causes were largely a function of the opportunities, or lack of opportunities, provided by the host country political systems.

In this vein, ethnic and migrant community efforts to penetrate foreign policy making processes in host countries, suggests Shain, contributes to a diffusion of ethnic tensions inside the host countries:

> Thus, just as the American government's openness to influence of ethnicity has guided diasporic groups to champion the creed of democracy and human rights around the globe, it also, indirectly, makes them more committed to liberal pluralism domestically. As ethnic elites gradually find their ways into the American mainstream via the diasporic channel, their affinity with radical isolationist and extreme multiculturalists in their own community becomes awkward (Shain 1996, 110).

Huntington, in contrast, retorts that diaspora politics is inherently unstable and increasingly clouds the articulation of host country foreign policies given that:

> The nature of American government and society enhances the political power of foreign governments and diasporas. Dispersion of authority among state and federal governments, three branches of government, and loosely structured and often highly autonomous bureaucracies provide them, as it does domestic interest groups, multiple points of access for promoting favorable policies and blocking unfavorable ones. The highly competitive two-party system gives strategically placed minorities such as diasporas the opportunity to affect elections in the single-member districts of the House of Representatives and at times also in statewide Senate elections. In addition, multiculturalism and belief in the value of immigrant groups' maintaining their ancestral culture and identity provide a highly favorable intellectual, social, and political atmosphere, unique to the United States, for the exercise of diaspora influence (Huntington 2004, 285-286)[131]

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[131] One of Huntington's prime concerns is the appearance of political unaccountability in actions and positions, such as this 1995 statement by the American Jewish Committee: "Although geographically dispersed and ideologically diverse, Jews are indeed one people, united by history, covenant, and culture. Together we must act to shape the Jewish destiny; let no one, in Israel, America or elsewhere, erect barriers among us" (Huntington 2004, 276).

The results of this study suggest that both assessments are partially accurate. There is a basic link between perceived legitimacy and social conflict within the host country setting. Where political legitimacy of the political system is widely accepted by diaspora leaders, conflict between the community and the host state is minimized. The same holds true for inter-diasporic conflict: when the legitimacy of the host state increased in the view of Croat and Serb diaspora community members, conflicts between rival and competing ethno-national communities were controlled at minimal levels of intensity. In fact, some degree of inter-diasporic conflicts can actually be desirable, if it comes in the right forms. Turning up the volume in the course of lobbying host country policymakers and working within established norms of behavior may prevent inter-diasporic tensions from spilling over to mass violence.

Host society political cultures and values, in tandem with the positive effects of access to policymakers, were the crucial factors that restrained Croat and Serb diaspora contention, encouraged ethnic community leaders to make constructive decisions, and eased the efforts of Australian and American policymakers to discuss and manage the inter-diasporic tensions. In particular, liberal political values and the right to legally voice even unpopular views in both the United States and Australia allowed the Croat and Serb community leaderships to better manage tempers and tensions. Croat and Serb elites regularly credit the need to protect their personal reputations and the reputations of their respective communities as the chief reason why they worked so hard to repress inter-diasporic tensions.

This study confirms the proposition that an increased perception of access for ethnic community leaders to policymakers, in order to voice diasporic interests and express concerns about host state foreign policies, muzzles inter-group tensions. Certainly, ignorance of, and frustration with, host country political systems, coupled with a lack of access to policymakers seems at least partially responsible for Australia's more intense levels of conflict than in the United States. The fact that both Croats and Serbs perceived that they had limited "voice" in the Australian foreign policy process explains the greater pursuit of interests outside the institutional and organizational frameworks established by the state, through use of contentious demonstrations and, at the fringes of the communities, violence in order to express pain and anger.

This comparison suggests that simply listening to diaspora community concerns is important in host country contexts. The opportunity for each diaspora groups to relate—to vent—the history and present state of the inter-ethnic conflict as they see it to policymakers helps placate fears and suspicions. To the extent that Croat and Serb contention in either Australia or the United States became a debate with established rules of participation about host country foreign policy towards the respective homelands, the level of inter-group conflict waned.

But does this mean that diasporic politics between Croats and Serbs or other communities is inconsequential? Much of Croat and Serb diaspora politics in both the United States and Australia, and in particular the relations of the diasporas with each other, was greeted by silent disinterest. This is understandable to some extent. Pragmatically speaking, the efforts of Croat and Serbs in each of these countries to influence host country foreign policy, win the hearts and minds

of fellow citizens, and even the more troublesome and dangerous interactions among them caused relatively little damage and disturbance of public law and order.

Granted, much of diaspora politics and, indeed, much of the tension and pain caused by events abroad and within the diasporic context is hidden from the public eye. It happens in ethnic organizations, sports clubs, cultural halls, over the phone, on the Internet, in circles of friends, at church, and within families. It results in votes for foreign governments, cash and donations in kind for overseas kin, political parties, warring militias, and refugees.

In fact, this research proves precisely what Anderson (1992) and others claim about the nature of long-distance nationalism; namely, that it creates serious and unaccountable politics. In fact, suggests one Australian sociologist, there is

> nothing innocent about it, although this is easily overlooked. Most long-distance nationalists believe that their politics is the right kind and that what they do is precisely what they should be doing. They invariably believe in the righteousness of their cause. The illusion and rigidity of this stand becomes clear when one studies their opponents. They, too, believe in the righteousness of their cause (Skrbi_ 1999, 187).

The Croat and Serb diasporas, too, are charged with engaging in politics to further their interests, but without paying the same costs of those interests as their homeland kin were forced to do:

> transnationalism does not render diasporas one iota more accountable for their projects than before. The means for diasporas to participate in the political, economic, and cultural life of the home countries has never been greater. But émigrés still do not live the consequences of their undertakings, which are often motivated by high-minded ideals rather than pragmatism. The Balkan diasporas sprang to the defense of their nations in time of war, spending millions for arms, but have proved frugal and uninspired when it comes to postwar economic initiatives and building the institutions of their young democracies. Too often their faulty vision—or self-interest—causes them to act contrary to the interests of the people

> they profess to love so deeply. Even in an age when dual nationality is becoming more commonplace, most émigrés do not vote, pay taxes, or hold elected positions in the homeland; they act, but without the responsibilities of citizenship or office (Hockenos 2003, 365).

TRADE-OFFS

Inviting contentious ethno-national communities to participate in host country foreign policy lobbying efforts appears to direct community energies towards host state and society involvement and positively structures inter-ethnic competition. In particular, access to policymakers provides an incentive to impress host country officials and to steer clear of inter-ethnic conflict within the host society. This is roughly the pattern of Croat and Serb engagement in the United States during the 1990s.

In the Australian system, in contrast, foreign policymaking institutions have been designed to discourage open conflict over foreign policy goals, precisely by ensuring that an inner circle of policymakers would dominate decision-making. However, the disconnection of policymaking authorities from societal groups and constituents means underlying societal tensions are not institutionalized and remain unresolved.

Lobbying for narrow foreign policy interests by diasporic groups, however, leads to the broader concerns raised at the beginning of this study regarding host country "national interests" and the "capture" of host state foreign policies by sub-national groups acting on behalf a foreign state or provincial interests, rather than broader, shared host state welfare. This provides policymakers in host societies with important trade-offs: less access to

policymakers and policymaking results in less "capture" of foreign policy and a clearer articulation of national interests. But this policymaking structure is also correlated with more diaspora community frustration and possibly more contentious inter-diaspora relations.

The overall conclusion of the empirical case studies is that diaspora politics is a phenomenon in the making, as political authorities in both the host country and homeland realize the potential of, and threats posed by, diasporic political activities. The United States, and increasingly Australia, are known for their inclusive policies towards migrants. But the cases of Croats and Serbs in this study add a note caution to the current enthusiasm. By introducing Balkan politics into the United States and Australia, Croats and Serbs forced host country policymakers to combine foreign policy with domestic integration policy, and to confront for good or ill, the little Croatias and little Serbias in their midst.

While foreign ties will increasingly influence the configurations of many immigrant communities, states still have the power and resources to determine the choices that are available to people. The key point is that for members of diasporic communities there are two or more states involved. And with interests in both homeland and host country affairs, intense loyalty to any one country is unlikely to remain static. While diasporas may develop and mobilize without the assistance of homeland states, most efforts to organize politically are likely to be influenced by the extent to which homeland governments establish relationships with their diasporas.

Moreover, the social strains of immigration are often those of conflict between communities. These conflicts should be anticipated by governments, but

they rarely are foreseen, let along consciously managed and minimized. Immigrant receiving host countries would be wise to incorporate these contingencies into their perspectives on immigration and ethnic policies. The findings of this study should thus be viewed as a warning—not away from diversity—but toward more care in handling it.

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